



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

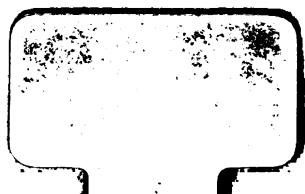
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

687.6
Th5

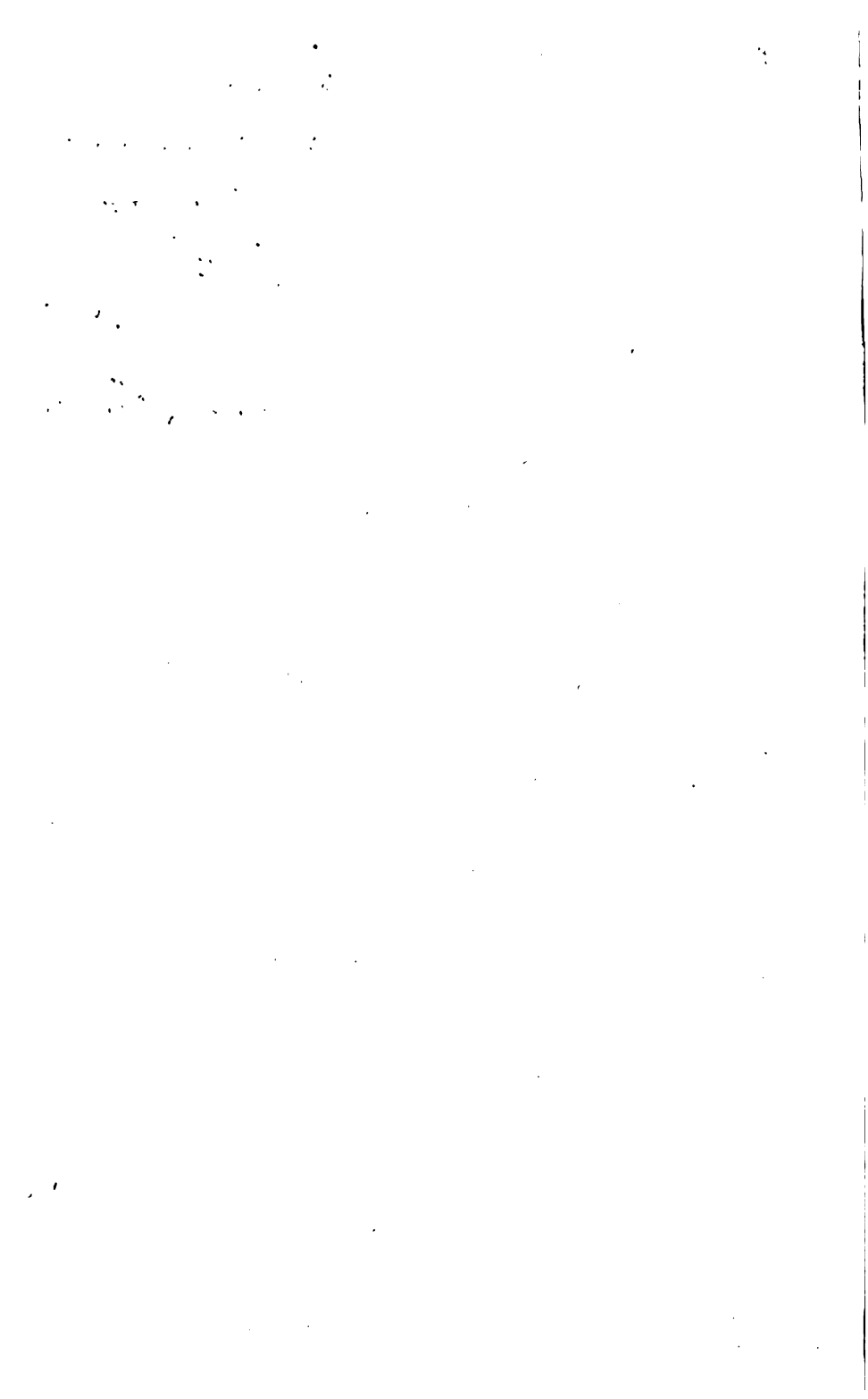
687.6
Ths



Heberden Co. Room
Hoboken Museum
Oxford
D.C.
H. J. Stapleton
January 18th 1956



302196258-



.THE

INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL,

INTRODUCED BY THE MUHAMMADANS,

ON THEIR CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY,

A.H. 600 TO 800. (A.D. 1203—1397).

(Chiefly illustrated from the Specimens in the Kooch Bahár Trouvaille).

BY

EDWARD THOMAS,

LATE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

HERTFORD:

PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN, FORE STREET.

1866.



1 FEB 1956

THE INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL.

BY
EDWARD THOMAS, Esq.

TOWARDS the end of August, 1863, an unusually large hoard of coins, numbering in all no less than 13,500 pieces of silver, was found in the Protected State of Kooch Bahár, in Northern Bengal, the contents of which were consigned, in the ordinary payment of revenue, to the Imperial Treasury in Calcutta. Advantage was wisely sought to be taken of the possible archæological interest of such a discovery, in selections directed to be made from the general bulk to enrich the medal cabinets of the local Mint and the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The task of selection, and with it of inevitably final rejection, was entrusted to Bábu Rajendra-lál-Mitra,—an experienced scholar in many branches of Sanskrit literature, and who, in the absence of more practised Numismatists, courageously encountered the novel study and impromptu exposition of Semitic Palæography as practically developed in his own native land six centuries ago. The Bábu, after having assiduously completed his selections for the Government,¹ was considerate enough to devote himself to renewed and more critical examinations of this mass of coined metal, with a view to secure for Colonel C. S. Guthrie (late of the Bengal Engineers), any examples of importance that might have escaped his earlier investigations. The result has been that more than a thousand additional specimens have been rescued from the Presidency Mint crucibles, and now contribute the leading materials for the subjoined monograph.

An autumnal fall of a river bank, not far removed from the traditional capital of *Kuntewar Rája*, a king of mark in provincial annals,² disclosed to modern eyes the hidden trea-

¹ J. A. S. Bengal, 1864, p. 480.

² Col. J. C. Haughton, to whom we are mainly indebted for the knowledge of this *trouvaille*, has been so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting

sure of some credulous mortal who, in olden time, entrusted his wealth to the keeping of an alluvial soil, carefully stored and secured in brass vessels specially constructed for the purpose, but destined to contribute undesignedly to an alien inheritance, and a disentanglement at a period much posterior to that contemplated by its depositor. This accumulation, so singular in its numerical amount, is not the less remarkable in the details of its component elements—whether as regards the, so to say, newness and sharpness of outline of the majority of the pieces themselves, the peculiarly local character of the whole collection, or its extremely limited range in point of time. It may be said to embrace compactly the records of ten kings, ten mint cities, and to represent 107 years of the annals of the country. The date of its inhumation may be fixed, almost with precision, towards the end of the eighth century A.H., or the fourteenth century A.D. A very limited proportion of the entire aggregation was contributed by external currencies, and the imperial metropolis of Dehli alone intervenes to disturb the purely indigenous issues, and that merely to the extent of *less* than 150 out of the 13,500 otherwise unmixed produce of Bengal Mints.¹

details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities. Col. Haughton writes :—"The place where the coin was found is about three miles S.W. of Deenhatta, not far from the Temple of Kuntesswaree (or Komit-Esswaree) on the banks of the river Dhurla. Near to this temple is a place called Gosain Morace, a short distance from which are the ruins of Kuntessur Raja's capital called Kuntesswaree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotahs*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron spike passing from side to side."

¹ I wish to explain the reservations I make in thus stating this total below that given in Rajendra lál's list of 150 coins of *seven* Dehli kings (J.A.S.B., September, 1864, p. 481). In the first place, I greatly mistrust the reading of the sixth king's title. Muhammad bin Tughlak was called *Fakhr-ud-din Júnah* in his youth only; on his first mission to the Dakhin in 721 A.H. the higher title of *Ulugh Khán* was conferred upon him by his father, but from the date of his accession to the throne of Hindustan, he contented himself with the use of his simple name and patronymic; no longer the "glory of the faith," he was the far more humble *الوئق بتائيد الرحمن*, or the conventional *الله سبيل في* (Zia-i-Barni, Calcutta edit., p. 196), both of which were so persistently copied by the independent Bengal Sultan. Certainly no such title as *فخرالدين* occurs on any of the specimens of the *Kooch*

The exclusively home characteristics of the great majority of the collection are enlivened by the occasional intrusion of mementos of imperial re-assertions, and numismatic contributions from other independent sources aid in the casual illustration of the varying political conditions of the province, and of the relations maintained from time to time between the too-independent governors of a distant principality and their liege suzerains at Dehli.

Muhammadan writers have incidentally preserved a record of the fact, that on the first entry of their armies into Bengal, they found an exclusive *cowrie* or shell currency, assisted possibly by bullion in the larger payments, but associated with no coined money of any description;¹ a heritage of primitive

Bahdr collection, that the Bábu has selected for Col. Guthrie, with the exception of those bearing the names of Fakhr-ud-dín *Mubdrak Sháh*.

The second question, of the altogether improbable intrusion of coins of Muhammad 'Adil Sháh ("new type"), I must meet in a more direct way, by assigning the supposed examples of his money to the potentate from whose mints they really came, that is, *Ikhidr-ud-dín Ghází Sháh* (No. vii. infra), giving a difference in the age of the two kings, as far as their epochs affect the probable date of the concealment of this *trouvaille*, of more than two centuries (753 A.H. against 960 A.H.). The Bábu has himself discovered his early error of making Shams-ud-dín Firúz, *one of the Dehli Patháns* (as reported in the local newspapers), and transferred him, in the printed proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to an anomalous position at the end of the Bengal Patháns (p. 483), while omitting to deduct him from the total number of "eight Dehli Patháns," which reckoning has been allowed to stand at p. 480. In the matter of date, we are not informed why this king should be assigned to A.D. 1491, instead of to the true 1320 A.D. which history claims for him.

¹ Minháj-ul-Siráj, who was resident in Lakhnauti in A.H. 641, writes چنان تقریر کردند کہ دران بلاد کودہ بعض چیتل روان است Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 149, Calcutta printed edition (1864). Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldive Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice; the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows : سیاه = 100 cowries. فال = 700.

كُتِي = 12000. بُسْتُو = 100,000, four *bustús* were estimated as worth one gold *dinár*; but the rate of exchange varied considerably, so that occasionally a *dinár* would purchase as many as twelve *bustús*, or twelve laks of cowries! (French edit., iv., p. 121. Lee's Translation, p. 178.) Sir Henry Elliot mentions that "in India, in 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 cowries; in 1756, for 2,560 cowries; and (in 1845) as many as 6,500 could be obtained for a rupee."—Glossary of Indian Terms, p. 373. They were estimated in the currency scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee.—Prinsep's U.T., p. 2. Major Rennell, who was in Silhet in 1767-8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks: "I found no other currency of any kind in the country; and upon an occasion when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat loads (not less than 50 tons each) were collected and sent down the Burrampooter to Dacca." As late as 1801 the revenues of the British district of Silhet "were

barter, indeed, which survived undisturbed in many of the outlying districts up to the early part of the present century. The consistent adherence of the people to this simple medium of exchange, goes far to explain an enigma, recently adverted to,¹ as to the general absence of all specimens of money of high antiquity within certain limits northward of the seaboard, and may serve to reconcile the anomaly of conterminous nationalities appearing in such different degrees of advancement when tried by similar isolated tests of local habitudes. For the rest, the arms of Islám clearly brought with them into Bengal what modern civilization deems a fiscal necessity—a scheme of national coinage; and the present enquiry is concerned to determine when and in what form the conquerors applied the theory and practice they themselves had as yet but imperfectly realized.

When Muhammad bin Sâm had so far consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb-ud-dín Aibek, while his own court was still held at Ghazní, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of *the* faith beyond the limits already acquired. In pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtiár Khiljí, *Sipahsálár* in Oude, in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital, and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnautí, where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority till his own career was prematurely cut short in A.H. 602.

Considering the then existing time-honoured system of valuation by shells—which would certainly not invite a hasty issue of coin—and Muhammad Bakhtiár's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud-dín, who, so far as can be seen, uttered no money in his own name, it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional, or special,

collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion."—Hamilton's *Hindustan*, London, 1820., i. p. 195.

¹ J.R.A.S., vol. i., N.S., p. 473-4.

medallic mintage—a numismatic Fatah-námah, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, designedly avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.

Similar motives may be taken to have prevailed in the north, where the least possible change was made in the established currency of the country, extending, indeed, to a mere substitution of names in the vernacular character on the coin, which was allowed to retain the typical “Bull and Horseman” device of Prithvi Rája and his predecessors. The pieces themselves, designated from their place of mintage *Dehli-wálas*,¹ were composed of a mixture of silver and copper in intentionally graduated proportions, but of the one fixed weight of thirty-two ratis, or the measure of the old *Purána* of silver of Manu’s day. Progressive modifications were effected in the types and legends of these coins, but no systematic reconstruction of the circulating media took place until the reign of Altamsh; who, however, left the existing currencies undisturbed, as the basis for the introduction of the larger and more valuable and exclusively silver الفضة popularly known in after times as the *Tankah*,² a standard which may also be supposed to have followed traditional weights in the contents assigned to it, as the 96 rati-piece modern ideas would identify with the *Tolah*: or it may possibly have been originated as a new 100 rati coin, a decimal innovation on the primitive

¹ The name is written *دلی ال* in Kutb-ud-din Aibek’s inscription on the mosque at Dehli. (Prinsep’s Essays, i. 327). The *Táj-ul-Maásir* and other native authorities give the word as *دهلیوال*. Hasan Nizámi, the author of the former work, mentions that Kubáchah, ruler of Sind, sent his son with an offering of 100 láks of Dehli-wáls to Altamsh, and no less than 500 láks of the same description of coin were eventually found in Kubáchah’s treasury, many of which were probably struck in his own mints. (See *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx., fig. 19; J.A.S.B., iv., pl. 37, figs. 28, 29, 47; and Prinsep’s Essays, i., pl. xxvi., figs. 28, 29, 47.)

² Erskine derives this name from the Chagatai Túrki word, *tang*, “white.” (*History of India under Báber*. London, 1851, vol. i. p. 546). Vullers gives a

different and clearly preferable derivation in *تنگه* (fort. ex. *تنك* s. *تنگت* tenuis, suff. *د*). Ibn Batutah carefully preserves the orthography as *تنگه*, s. *टङ्क* and *टङ्क*.

Hindu reckoning by fours, a point which remains to be determined by the correct ascertainment of the normal weight of the *rati*, which is still a debated question. My own results, obtained from comparative numismatic data of various ages, point to 1.75 grains,¹ while General

¹ In attempting to ascertain the relation of the weights of ancient and modern days, and to follow the changes that time and local custom may have introduced into the static laws of India, the capital point to be determined is the true weight of the *rati*, as it was understood and accepted when the initiatory metric system was in course of formation. Two different elements have hitherto obstructed any satisfactory settlement of the intrinsic measure of this primary unit—the one, the irregularity of the weight of the *gunja* seeds themselves, which vary with localities and other incidental circumstances of growth;* the other, the importance of which has been rather overlooked, that the modifications in the higher standards, introduced from time to time by despotic authority, were never accompanied by any rise or fall in the nominal total of *ratis* which went to form the altered integer. From these and other causes the rate of the *rati* has been variously estimated as† 1.3125 grains, 1.875 grains, 1.953 grains, and even as high as 2.25 grains.

We have Manu's authority for the fact that 32 *ratis* went to the old silver *dharana* or *purāṇa*, and we are instructed by his commentator, in a needlessly complicated sum, that the *kārsha* was composed of 80 *ratis* of copper. We have likewise seen that this *kārsha* constituted a commercial static measure, its double character as a coin and as a weight being well calculated to ensure its fixity and uniformity in either capacity within the range of its circulation. I shall be able to show that this exact weight retained so distinct a place in the fiscal history of the metropolis of Hindustān, that in the revision and re-adjustment of the coinage which took place under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in A.D. 1325, this integer was revived in the form of silver coin, and was further retained as a mint standard by his successors, till Shīr Shāh re-modelled the currency about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the same way I have already demonstrated elsewhere,‡ in illustration of an independent question, that a coin retaining with singular fidelity the ponderable ratio of the ancient *purāṇa*, was concurrent with the restored *kārsha* under Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1351–1388) and other kings. And to complete the intermediate link, I may cite the fact that when the effects of Greek and Scythian interference had passed away, the 32-*rati* *purāṇa* re-appeared in the Punjab and Northern India, as the silver currency of the local dynasty of SYĀLA and SAMANTA DEVA.§ and furnished in its style and devices the prototype of the Dehli CHOHAN series of "Bull and Horseman" coins, the *Dehliwīdās*, which were retained, unaltered in weight, by the Muhammadans, in joint circulation with the silver double *Dirhams* of 174 grains of their own system.||

Extant specimens of Syāla's coins in the British Museum weigh 54.4 grains and upwards.

If this double series of weights, extending over an interval of time represented by 24 or 25 centuries, and narrowed to an almost identical locality, are found not only to accord with exactitude in themselves, but to approach the only rational solution of the given quantities, the case may be taken as proved.

The ancient *purāṇa* hall-marked silver pieces range as high as 55 grains; copper coins of *Rāmadata*¶ are extant of 137.5 grains; and other early coins of

* Colebrooke, As. Res. v. 93.

+ Sir W. Jones, As. Res., ii. 154, "*Rati* = $1 \frac{5}{16}$ of a grain." Prinsep, U. T. (180+96); Jervis, Weights of Konkan, p. 40; Wilson, Glossary, sub voce *Rati*.

‡ Num. Chron., xv., notes, pp. 138, 153, etc.

§ J. A. S. Bengal, iv. 674; J. R. A. S., ix. 177; Ariana Antiqua, p. 428; Prinsep's Essays, i. 313.

|| N. C., xv. 136; Prinsep's Essays, U. T., p. 70.

¶ Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 216, pl. xx., figs. 47, 48.

Cunningham adheres to the higher figures of 1.8229 grains.¹

about 70 grains; while, in parallel exemplification, the latter standard weights, under the Muhammadans at Delhi, are found to be 56 and 140 grains. Hence—

$$140+80 \text{ ratis} = 1.75 \text{ grains}$$

$$56+32 \text{ „} = 1.75 \text{ „}$$

and this is the weight I propose to assign to the original *rati*; there may be some doubt about the second decimal, as we are not bound to demand an exact sum of *even* grains, but the 1.7 may be accepted with full confidence, leaving the hundred at discretion, though from preference, as well as for simplicity of conversion of figures, I adhere to the 14. Under this system, then, the definition of each ancient weight by modern grains will stand as follows:—

	1 Masha	=	2 Ratis or	3.5 grains.
SILVER.....	1 Dharana or Purana	=	32 „	56.0 „
	1 Satamana	=	320 „	560. „
	1 Masha	=	5 „	8.75 „
GOLD	1 Suvarna	=	80 „	140. „
	1 Pala or Nishka	=	320 „	560. „
	1 Dharana	=	3200 „	5600. „
COPPER	1 Karsha	=	80 „	140. „
Subdivisions of Karsha	$\frac{1}{2}$	=	40 „	70. „
	$\frac{1}{4}$	=	20 „	35. „
	$\frac{1}{8}$	=	10 „	17.5 „

—*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv., N.S. p. 131, March, 1864.

¹ General Cunningham's deductions are founded on the following estimates:—"I have been collecting materials for the same subject [Indian Weights] for nearly twenty years, and I have made many curious discoveries. I see that Mr. Thomas quotes Sir William Jones as fixing the weight of the *Krishnala*, or *Rati* seed, at $1\frac{6}{18}$ grain; but I am satisfied that this is a simple misprint of Jones's manuscript for $1\frac{2}{3}$ or 1.833 grain, which is as nearly as possible the average weight of thousands of seeds which I have tested. The great unit of mediæval and modern times is the *deka* of not less than 145 grains, of which six make the *chha-taka*, or *chhatak*, equal to 870 grains, or nearly two ounces; and 100 make the *sataka*, or *ser*, the derivation being *sat-taka*, or 100 *tukas*. For convenience I have taken, in all my calculations, the *rati* seed at 1.8229 grain. Then 80 *ratis* or 145.832 was the weight of the *tangka* of copper, and also of the golden *suvarna*, which multiplied by six gives 874.99 grains, or exactly two ounces for the *chhatdka* or *chhatak*."—J.A.S. Bengal, 1865, page 46.

Mr. N. S. Maskelyne, of the Mineral Department, British Museum, who, some time ago, entered into an elaborate series of comparisons of Oriental weights, with a view to determine the identity of one of our most celebrated Indian diamonds, has been so obliging as to draw up for me the following memorandum, exhibiting the bearing of an entirely independent set of data upon the question under review, the true weight of the Indian *Rati*. The value of this contribution in itself, and the difficulty of doing justice to it in an abstract, must plead my excuse for printing it *in extenso* in this place:—

I shall confine my answer to your question about the *rati* to the estimate of it as derived from the *Mishkal*. The other channel of enquiry, that namely of Hindoo metrology and numismatics, is too complicated, and so far as I have been able to follow it, too unsatisfactory in its results, to justify my urging any arguments derived from it. Indeed, the oscillations in the currencies, and our knowing so few very fine coins of reigns before Shír Sháh, of critical value, make this branch of the subject almost unapproachable to one who is not an Oriental scholar. I would premise, however, that I do not believe very accurate results are to be obtained solely from the weights of coins, except in the few cases where, as in the coins of Akbar, or of Abd-el-Malek ben Merwán, we have some literary

However, these silver coins of Altamsh—let their primary static ideal have been based upon a duplication of the dirhams

statements about them. Nor can you get any result from weighing carob beans to determine the carat, or abrus seeds to determine the *rati*. I weighed, long ago, hundreds of *ratis*, that Dr. Daubeney lent me, with an average of 1.694 troy grains. Sir William Jones found, I believe, one of 1.318, and Professor Wilson, I think, another value again. They vary according to the soil and climate they are grown in, and the time and atmosphere they have been kept in.

My investigation of the *rati* originated in a desire to determine whether the diamond, now the Queen's, was the same that Baber records as having been given to Humáyún at the taking of Agra, after the battle of Paniput, and which had once belonged to Alá-ed-din (Khilji). I also was led to suppose that the diamond Tavernier saw at the Court of Aurungzete was the same, and that he had confounded it with one that Meer Jumla gave to Sháh Jehán, and that had been recently found at Golconda. I would here observe that Tavernier's weights can be very little trusted; I can give you my reasons for this assertion, if you wish for them.

Báber, in his memoirs, says the weight of Humáyún's diamond, was about 8 mishkáls. In his description of India, he gives the following ratios of the weights in use there:—

8 <i>ratis</i>	=	1 máshah.	
32 "	=	4 "	= 1 tang (tank).
40 "	=	5 "	= 1 mishkál.
96 "	=	12 "	= 1 tola.

Jewels and precious stones being estimated by the tang. Furthermore he states 14 tolas = 1 sír, 40 sírs = 1 man, etc. Thus, then, the 8 mishkáls would be 320 *ratis*.

Tavernier says the diamond he saw weighed 319½ *ratis*. The Koh-i-Nûr, in 1851 (and, I believe, in Baber's day also), weighed 589.5 grains troy. The theory that it was Alá-ed-din's diamond, would demand—

a mishkál (8)	weight of	73.7	grains.
a tola (3½)	"	176.85	"
a tank (10)	"	58.95	"
a másha (40)	"	14.745	"
a <i>rati</i> (320 of 8 to the másha)	"	1.8425	"
— (240 of 6)	"	2.533	"

Now, as to the mishkál—the Mahommadan writers speak of it as not having altered from the days of the Prophet. Doubtless, it has been a pretty permanent weight, and very likely, in Makrizi's time, was but slightly various in different places. At present, the following table represents the different mishkáls, so far as I have been able to ascertain them.

The gold and silver mishkál of <i>Bassorah</i> = 1½ dirham	.....	= 72 grains.
The " " mussalor mishkál of <i>Gamroon</i> (71.75 miscals = 100 mahmoudias = 5136 grains)	.....	= 71.6. "
The gold and silver miscal of <i>Mocha</i> = 24 carats = 24 $\frac{1}{160}$ vakya (of 480 grains, nearly)	.....	= 72 "
That of <i>Bushire</i> = $\frac{1}{120}$ of a maund of 53784 grains	.....	= 74.7 "
The metical of <i>Aleppo</i> and <i>Algiers</i>	.....	= 73 "
The " of <i>Tripoli</i>	.....	= 73.6 "
In <i>Persian</i> , the demi mishkál = $\frac{1}{1200}$ of the batman of Chessay (of 8871 grains)	.....	= 73.96 "
The taurid batman and mishkál = half the above	.....
The mishkál corresponding to the ($\frac{1}{2}$) dirham used for gold and silver, in Persia	.....	= 74.5 "
The abbasi corresponding to 1 mishkal, Marsden says	.....	= 72 "
The modern debased mishkál of <i>Bokhara</i>	.....	= 71 "

Báber, in speaking of the mishkál, may either mean his own Bokharan mishkál, or, as seems more probable, the current mishkál as existing at that time in India;

of Ghazní, or, as is more probable, elaborated out of the elements of ancient Indian Metrology—may be quoted in their

in short, the “Indian or Syrian mishkāl” of the Mahommadan writers—which was the Greek mishkāl + 2 kirats. The modern debased mishkāl of Bokhara we may leave out of our comparisons. It is surely a degraded weight in a country that has undergone an eclipse.

The old “Greek Dinar” is of course the Byzant, or solidus aureus—the denarius of Byzantium. It was nominally coined 72 to the Roman lb. The Byzantian Roman lb. in the British Museum weighs 4995 grains, so the solidus was *nominally* coined at 69.4 grains. It *really* issued from the mint at a maximum weight of 68 (a very few of the most finely preserved coins reaching this amount). Now taking Makrizi’s statement that the mishkāl was 24 kirats, and that of the Ayin-i-Akberi that the Greek mishkāl was 2 kirats less than this; we find the weight of the mishkāl = $68 + \frac{68}{11} = 74.18$ grains troy. Again, Makrizi mentions that Abd-el-malek ben Merwan coined dinars and dirhams in the ratios of $21\frac{1}{2}$ kirats : 15 kirats. Now this Caliph’s gold coins in the British Museum (in a very fine state of preservation), weigh 66.5 grains, and his silver, also well preserved, 44.5. Taking the former as coined at 67, we have the ratio :

$$\text{Dinar : Dirham} = 21\frac{1}{2} : 15 = 67 : 46.2,$$

which latter gives a probable weight for the dirham as originally coined. (In Makrizi’s time the ratio was dinar : dirham = 10 : 7 = 21.75 : 15.22; or supposing the gold coin unchanged at 67, the silver dirham would become 46.88). Then, as the ratio of the dinar (or gold mishkāl) to the mishkāl weight = $21\frac{1}{2} : 24$ we have for the mishkāl weight a value of 73.93 grains.

These two values, thus severally adduced from different data—viz., 74.18 and 73.93—sufficiently nearly accord to justify, I think, our striking the balance between them, and declaring the ancient mishkāl—(“the Syrian or Indian mishkāl”) to have been very nearly 74 grains. Hence the kirat would be 3.133 grains, troy. The modern carat varies from 3.15, the modern Indian carat, to 3.28, the old French carat (made thus probably to be an aliquot part of the old French ounce). The English carat = 3.168; the Hamburg = 3.176, and the Portuguese = 3.171.

The above value of the mishkāl accords extremely well with my theory about the diamond.

That the “Greek Dinar” of Makrizi was the Sassanian gold is not at all likely, although the silver dirham was, no doubt, originally derived from the Sassanian drachma. Of the few gold pieces of Sassanian coinage, the one in the Museum, of Ardashir I., weighs now 65.5, and could not have been coined at less than 66.5 grains—which would give a mishkāl of 72.04. But under the Sassanidæ, the gold coinage was quite exceptional, and was not large enough to have formed the basis of the monetary system of the Caliphs, which was professedly founded on Greek coins, *current*.

As to the Bokhāran mishkāl of Báber’s time, how are we to arrive at it? You—and if you can’t, who can?—are able to make little firm ground out of the weights of Sassanian, or Ghasnavid coins—nor will the coins of the Ayubite, Mamluke, and Mamluke Bahrite, Caliphs (of which I have weighed scores), give any much more reliable units on which to base the history of the progress of change in the mishkāl. The limits of its variation in modern times seem to have lain between 74.5 and 72 troy grains; I believe 74 as near as possible its true original weight, the weight of the Syrian and of the Indian mishkāl. This would give the rati on the goldsmith’s standard of 8 to the másha, and 40 to the mishkāl, as 1.85 grains, and the limits of this rati would be 1.862 and 1.80. The value of the jeweller’s rati (6 to the másha) would be for the 74 grain mishkāl 2.47 grains, and its limits would be 2.483 and 2.40.

That Báber’s and Humáyún’s now worn and dilapidated coins of 71 and 71.6 grains were mishkāls is not improbable; but they certainly were not coined at less than 74 grains.

Without entering into the Indian numismatical question, I may remind you of

surviving integrity of weight and design, as having furnished the prototypes of a long line of sequent Dehli mintages, and thus contributing the manifest introductory model of all Bengal coinages.¹

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints,

Tuglak's coin of 174 grains (one in the British Museum = 172.25), probably coined at 175 or 176; a fair weight of issue for a coin nominally of some 177 or 178 grains. These coins, I believe, you consider to represent the tola. A tola of 177.6 would accord on the ratios of Báber's table with a mishkâl of 74 grains. I am strongly tempted to enter further into this question of the ponderary systems of India, but I am warned by your own able papers of the difficulties in the path of one who deals only in translations and in the weight of coins.

24th Nov., 1865.

¹ There are three varieties of Altamsh's silver coinage, all showing more or less the imperfection of the training of the Indian artists in the reproduction of the official alphabet of their conquerors. The designs of these pieces were clearly taken from the old Ghazni model of Muhammad bin Sâm's Dirhams and Dinârs, and the indeterminate form of the device itself would seem to indicate that they mark the initial effort of the new Muhammadan silver currency which so soon fixed itself into one unvarying type, and retained its crude and unimproved lettering for upwards of a century, till Muhammad bin Tughlak inaugurated his reign by the issue of those choice specimens of the Moneyer's art, which stand without compeers in the Dehli series.

No. 1, Silver. Size, vii.; weight, 162.5. Supposed to have been struck on the receipt of the recognition of the Khalif of Baghdâd in 626 A.H.

Obverse: Square area, with double lines, within a circle.

Legend, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse: Square area, with double lines, within a circle.

• Legend, في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين

No. 2, Silver. Size, viii.; weight, 168.5. Date, 630 A.H.

Obverse: Square area, with double lines,

السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر اليتيمس السلطان ناصر امير المومنين

Reverse: Circular area.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر
امير المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذا الـ

Mr. Bayley notices the occasional change of the name of the piece to the generic السكة as well as the ignorant substitution of المستنصر بامر الله for the Khalif's true title. J.A.S.B., 1862, p. 207. Col. Guthrie's coin (Type No. 2) discloses a similar error.

Legend, في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه النضة

No. 3, Silver. Size, viii.; weight, 163.5 gr.

Obverse, as No. 2, but the square area is enclosed in a circle.

Reverse: Square area enclosed within a circle, identical with the obverse design.

though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Dehli die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventionalism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, and, as the plates will show, like Persian *shikastah*, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins, a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonárgaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the present series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (No. 22 *infra*). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends; but his own coins struck at the "city"—he would not call it capital—of Lakhnauti, evince the haste and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and still worse, the hand of a local artist, all of which short-comings may be forgiven to a monarch who, in his own imperial metropolis, had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends, to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultáns, mere imitators at first, were original in their later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever recurring *kalimah*, and in

the suggestive mutations of titles assigned to the lieutenants of the prophet on earth, whose names they did not care to learn. So also was their elaboration of the titular adjuncts of the four Imáms uninfluenced by northern formulæ; many of which conventionalisms survived for centuries, till Shír Sháh, in the chances of conquest, incorporated them into the coinage of Hindustán, during the exile of the temporarily vanquished Humáyún.

The standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily, like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of imperial mint quantities, and the early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Dehli prototypes; but one of the curious results the Kooch Behár collective find determines is, that, though the first kings on the list clearly put forth money of full measure, their pieces were, in most cases, subjected to a well understood Indian process of boring-out, or reduction to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kai Káuś and Fírúz have escaped the debaser's eye, and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains, at which figure, in troy grains, the bulk of the hoard ranges, or, in more marked terms, 166 grains is the precise weight of the majority of the very latest and best preserved specimens, which must have been consigned to their recent place of concealment when very fresh from mints but little removed from the residence of the accumulator of the treasure, and be held to represent coin which could scarcely have changed hands.

The intrinsic value of the money of these sovereigns follows next in the order of the enquiry. This department of fiscal administration might naturally have been expected to have been subject to but limited check or control, when regulated by the uncertain processes of Oriental metallurgy; but, in practice, it will be seen that some of the native Mint-masters were able to secure a very high standard of purity, and, what is more remarkable, to maintain a singularly uniform scale in

the rate of alloy. In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far, representing a sequent eighty years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0.6 per cent. As the Dehli coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard, so also does it retain a higher degree of purity; the 990 and 996 of silver to the test total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintages, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádur Sháh, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reinstituted honors and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak on his restoration to the government of Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies; while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, Aázam Sháh's officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains. Among other unexpected items for which the aid of modern science may be credited, is the support which the intrinsic contents of the erroneously-classed coins of 'Ádil Sháh under native interpretation, lend to the correctness of the revised attribution of the pieces themselves suggested by the critical terms of their own legends, in the manifest identity of their assay touch with the associate coins of the lower empire of India.

Colonel Guthrie has furnished me with the following data, concerning the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahár hoard:—"When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the Mint, two being for special assay, two for the Mint collection. The result of the assay was as follows (1,000 represents absolute purity):"

DEHLI COINS.

1. Balban (A.H. 664) ... 990 and 996
2. Kai Kobád (A.H. 685) 990 and 996
3. Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak (A.H. 720) 990.
4. 'Ádil Sháh [*i.e.* Ghází Sháh of Bengal, A.H. 761] 989.

BENGAL COINS.

1. Shams-ud-dín Firúz..... 989
2. Bahádur Sháh 988 and 993
3. Mubáarak Sháh..... 987
4. Ilías Sháh (1st type) 989; (2nd) 982; (3rd) 988.
5. Sikandar Sháh (return lost).
6. Aázam Sháh (1st type) 981; (2nd) 989; (3rd) 962; (4th) 977; (5th) 985.

A question that has frequently puzzled both Oriental and European commentators on the history of India, has been the intrinsic value of the current coin at the various epochs referred to, so that the most exact numerical specifications conveyed but a vague notion of the sterling sum contemplated in the recital of any given author. Numismatists have been for long past in a position to assert that the Dehli Tankah contained absolutely 173 grains, which would presuppose a theoretical issue weight of 174 or 175 grains, and a touch of nearly pure silver; but assuming this specific coin to have been a *white* or *real* "Tankah of Silver (تنكه نقره), a doubt necessarily remained as to what was to be understood by the alternative black Tankah (تنكه سیاه). Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, in his *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, seems to assign the introduction of these black Tankahs to Muhammad bin Tughlak, who notoriously depreciated the currency to a large extent, before he resorted to the extreme measure of a forced currency, though it may be doubted whether any such depreciation would have been thought of, even if there had been time to effect the conversion, at the very commencement of his reign, to which period Nizám-ud-dín attributes the issue of these pieces, in the apparent desire of explaining the bare possibility of the possession of such numerical amounts as are stated to have been squandered in largesses by the newly-enthroned monarch. However, the real debasement of the coin need not have extended much beyond the point indicated by the superficial aspect of his own Bengal mintages, and Aâzam Shâh's coins of the same locality probably exceed that accusatory measure of debasement; while, on the other hand, Muhammad bin Tughlak, on reverting to specie currencies, after his futile trial of copper tokens, seems to have aimed at a restoration of the ancient purity of metal in his metropolitan issues, as I can quote a coin of his produced by the Dehli Mint in A.H. 734, which has every outward appearance of a sole component element of unalloyed silver, and equally retains the fair average weight of 168 grains.¹ All

¹ This coin is similar, but not identical in its legends with the gold piece,

these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognised alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of "black Tankahs." Such a supposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Báber's mentioning that, in A.H. 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tírhút, a sort of border-land of his kingdom, which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in *Tankah Nukrah*, and the larger remainder in *Tankah Stáh*,¹ an exceptional association of currencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional estimate piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, constituting the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the conquering Moghul's Indian dominions.

Another important element of all currency questions is the relative rate of exchange of the precious metals *inter se*. And this is a division of the enquiry of peculiar significance at the present moment, when Her Majesty's Government are under pressure by the European interest to introduce gold as a legal tender at a fixed and permanent rate, or, in effect, to supersede the existing silver standard, the single and incontestable measure of value, in which all modern obligations have been contracted, and a metal, whose present market price is, in all human probability, less liable to be affected by

No. 84, of 736 A.H., p. 50, Pathán Sultáns. The following are the inscriptions :

Obverse—والله الغني وانتم الفقرا

Reverse—في عهد محمد بن تغلق

بدار الاسلام سنة اربع وثلثين وسبعماية

¹ Báber has left an interesting account of the revenues of his newly-acquired kingdom in India, as estimated after the battle of Panipat, in A.H. 932, to the effect that "the countries from Bhíra to Bahár which are now under my dominion yield a revenue of 52 krores" of Tankas. In the detail of the returns from different provinces, Tírhút is noticed as Tribute (Khidmatána) of the Tírhúti Raja 250,000 *tankah nukrah*, and 2,750,000 *tankah sídh*. William Erskine, History of India under Báber and Humáyun, London, 1854, vol. i., p. 540. See also Leyden's Memoirs of Baber, London, 1826, p. 334.

over production than that of gold: the bullion value of which latter had already begun to decline in the Bazárs of India, simultaneously with the arrival of the first-fruits of Australian mining.

If the contemplated authoritative revolution in the established currency had to be applied to a fully civilized people, there might be less objection to this premature experiment; but to disturb the dealings of an empire, peopled by races of extreme fixity of ideas, to give advantages to the crafty few, to the detriment of the mass of the unlettered population, is scarcely justified by the exigencies of British trade; and India's well-wishers may fairly advance a mild protest against hasty legislation, and claim for a subject and but little understood nationality, some consideration, before the ruling power forces on their unprepared minds the advanced commercial tenets of the cities of London and Liverpool.

The ordinary rate of exchange of silver against gold in Marco Polo's time (1271-91 A.D.),¹ may be inferred to have been eight to one; though exceptional cases are mentioned in localities within the reach of Indian traders, where the ratios of six to one and five to one severally obtained.

Ibn Batutah, in the middle of the fourteenth century,

¹ The Province of KARAIAN. "For money they employ the white porcelain shell found in the sea, and these they also wear as ornaments about their necks. Eighty of the shells are equal in value to a saggio of silver, or two Venetian groats, and eight saggi of good silver to one of pure gold." Chap. xxxix.

The Province of KARAZAN. "Gold is found in the rivers, both in small particles and in lumps; and there are also veins of it in the mountains. In consequence of the large quantity obtained, they give a saggio of gold for six saggi of silver. They likewise use the before-mentioned porcelain shells in currency, which, however, are not found in this part of the world, but are brought from India."—Chap. xl; also Pinkerton (London, 1811), vol. vii., 143.

The Province of KARDANDAN. "The currency of this country is gold by weight, and also the porcelain shells. An ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver, and a saggio of gold for five saggi of silver, there being no silver mines in this country, but much gold; and consequently the merchants who import silver obtain a large profit." Chap. xli.

The Kingdom of MIEN (*Ava*). "You then reach a spacious plain [at the foot of the Yunnan range], whereon, three days in every week, a number of people assemble, many of whom come down from the neighbouring mountains, bringing their gold to be exchanged for silver, which the merchants who repair thither from distant countries carry with them for this purpose; and one saggio of gold is given for five of silver." Chap. xliii. *Travels of Marco Polo*, by W. Marsden, London, 1818; and Bohn's Edition, 1854.

when he was, so to say, resident and domesticated in India, reports the relative values of the metals as eight to one.¹

رايت الرزُبَاع في اسواقها خمسة وعشرين رطلاً دهلية بدينار فضي¹
والدينار الفضي هو ثمانية دراهم ودرهمهم كالدرهم النقرة سواءً، iv. 10.

“J’ai vu vendre le riz, dans les marchés de ce pays [Bengale], sur le pied de vingt-cinq rithl de Dihly pour un dinâr d’argent: celui-ci vaut huit drachmes, et leur drachme équivaut absolument à la drachme d’argent” (iv. 210).

The difficulty of arriving at any thoroughly satisfactory interpretation of the obscure Arabic text, as it now stands, may be frankly admitted, nor do I seek to alter or amend the French translation, further than to offer a very simple explanation of what probably the author really designed to convey in the general tenor of the passage in question. It was a crude but established custom among the early Muhammadan occupying conquerors of India, to issue gold and silver coins of equal weights, identical fabric, and analogous central legends; hence, whenever, as in the present instance, the word *Dindr* is used in apposition with and contrast to the secondary term *Dirham*, the one *primâ facie* implies gold, the other silver; and there can be little doubt but that the original design of the text was to specify that one gold piece of a given weight passed *in situ* for eight silver pieces of similar form and of slightly greater bulk. It is possible that the term *Dindr* may in process of time have come to stand for a conventional measure of value, like the “pound sterling,” susceptible by common consent of being liquidated in the due equivalent of silver; but this concession need not affect the direct contrast between the *Dînârs* and *Dirhams* so obviously marked in the case in point.

Ibn Batutah in an earlier part of his work (iii. 426) [Lee’s edition is imperfect at this portion, p. 149] gives us the comparative Dehli rate of exchange—of which he had unpleasant personal experiences: he relates that he was directed to be paid $(55,000 + 12,000 =)$ 67,000 pieces of some well understood currency neither the name or the metal of which is defined, but which may legitimately be taken to have been “Silver Tankahs,” and in satisfaction of this amount, deducting the established one-tenth for *Dasturi*, which left a reduced total of 60,300, he received 6,233 gold tankahs. Under this scale of payment the gold must have borne a rate of exchange of one to 9·67 of silver, or very nearly one to 10, a proportion which might be supposed to clash with the one to eight of the more southern kingdom, but the existing state of the currencies of the two localities afford a striking illustration of the consistency of the African observer’s appreciation of money values in either case. His special patron, Muhammad bin Tughlak, Emperor of Dehli, had, from his first elevation to the throne, evinced a tendency to tamper with the currency, departing very early in his reign from the traditional equality of weights of gold and silver coins; he re-modelled both forms and relative proportions, introducing pieces of 200 grains of gold, styled on their surfaces *dindrs*, and silver coins of 140 grains, designated as *adalis*, in supersession of the ancient equable tankahs, both of gold and silver, extant examples of which in either metal come up to about 174 grains. More important for the present issue is the practical result, that, from the very commencement, Muhammad Tughlak’s silver money is invariably of a lower standard than that of his predecessors, whether this refers to the early continuation of the full silver tankah, or to his own newly devised 140 grain piece, a mere reproduction of the time-honoured local weight, which the Aryan races found current in the land some twenty-five centuries before this Moslem revival, but in either case, this payment to Ibn Batutah seems to have been made after the Sultan had organised and abandoned that imaginary phase of perfection in the royal art of depreciating the circulating media, by the entire supersession of the precious metals, and following the ideal of a paper currency, the substitution of a copper simulacrum of each and every piece in the

The Emperor Akbar's minister, Abúl Fazl, has left an official record of the value of gold in the second half of the sixteenth century, at which period the price was on the rise, so that the mints were issuing gold coin in the relation of one to 9·4 of silvre. But a remarkable advance must have taken place about this time, as in the second moiety of the seventeenth century, Tavernier¹ found gold exchanging against fourteen times its weight of silver, from which point it gradually advanced to one to fifteen, a rate it maintained when the East India Company re-modelled the coinage in 1833.² Afterwards, with prospering times, the metal ran up occasionally to fabulous premiums, to fall again ignominiously, when Californian and Australian discoveries made it common in the land.

I revert for the moment to a more formal recapitulation of the computations, which serve to establish the ratios of gold and silver in Akbar's time.

Abúl Fazl's figured returns give the following results:—

First.—Chugal, weight in gold Tolah 3, Másha 0, Rati $5\frac{1}{4}$ = 30 Rs. of $11\frac{1}{2}$ Máshas each : 549·84 :: 172·5 × 30 (5175·0) : 1::9·4118.

Second.—Áftábí, gold, weight t. 1, m. 2, r. $4\frac{3}{4}$ = 12 Rs. : 218·90 :: 172·5 × 12 (2070·0) : 1::9·4563.

order of its degree from the *Dindr* to the lowest coin in the realm, the values being authoritatively designated on the surface of each. This forced currency held its own, more or less successfully from 730 to 733, when it came to a simple and self-developed end. Taking the probable date of this payment as 742-3 A.H. (Ibn, B. vi., p. 4, and vol. iii., p. xxii.), it may be assumed that the 174 (or 175) grain old gold tankah, which had heretofore stood at the equitable exchange of one to eight tunkas of good silver, came necessarily, in the depreciation of the new silver coins, to be worth ten or more of the later issues. Pathán Sultán, p. 53).

¹ "All the gold and silver which is brought into the territories of the Great Mogul is refined to the highest perfection before it be coined into money."—Tavernier, London Edition, 1677, p. 2. "The roupie of gold weighs two drams and a half, and eleven grains, and is valued in the country at 14 roupies of silver."—Page 2. "But to return to our roupies of gold, you must take notice that they are not so current among the merchants. For one of them is not worth above fourteen roupies." The traveller then goes on to relate his doleful personal experiences, of how, when he elected to be paid for his goods in gold, "the king's uncle" forced him to receive the gold rupee at the rate of fourteen and a half silver rupees, whereby he lost no less than 3428 rupees, on the transaction. Sir James Stewart, writing in 1772, also estimates the conventional proportionate value of silver to gold, as fourteen to one—"The Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal." Calcutta, 1772.

² Prinsep's Useful Tables, pp. 5, 72, 79.

Third.—*Ilahí*, or *Lál Jaláli*, also *Muíanni*, gold, weight m. 12, r. $1\frac{1}{4}$ = 10 Rs. : 183·28 :: $172\cdot5 \times 10$ (1725·0) : 1::9·4118.

3 A.—The larger piece, the *Sihansah*, in value 100 *Lál Jaláls*, gives an identical return. Weight in gold, t. 101, m. 9, r. 7 = 1000 Rs. : 18328· :: $172\cdot5 \times 100 \times 10$: 1::9·4118.

Fourth.—*Adl-Gutkah*, or *Muhar*, also called *Mihrábí*, gold, weight 11 *Máshas* = 9 Rs. : 165 :: $172\cdot5 \times 9$ (1552·5) : 1 :: 9·40909.

4 A.—The higher proportions specified under the piece of 100 round *Muhars*, produce a similar result. Weight in gold, t. 91, m. 8 = 900 Rs. : 16500 :: $155250 \cdot (172\cdot5 \times 100 \times 9)$: 1 :: 9·40.

These sums are based upon the ordinary *Tolah* of 180 gr., *Másha* of 15, and *Rati* of 1·875 grs. The question of corresponding values in the English scale need not affect the accuracy of comparisons founded upon the conventional measure by which both metals were estimated.

I have given more prominence to the above calculations, and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent totals afforded by the larger sums now inserted, because the obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9·4, has been called in question by an official of the Calcutta Mint (a Dr. Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclusions, ventures to affirm, that “9·4 to one is a relative value of gold to silver, which never could really have existed.”¹ Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day, and each and all produce returns absolutely identical up to the first place of decimals. My original estimates were sketched and published at Dehli, in 1851, where I had access to the best MSS., to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics, and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land. When reprinting Prinsep’s “Useful Tables” (London, 1858), I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to fortify them, had it been needed, by the precisely analogous

¹ Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 517.

results obtained by Colonel W. Anderson, who had tried Abúl Fazl's figures, from a different point of view, and for altogether independent purposes.¹ But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate a rate as one to 9·4, the whole discussion might be set at rest by Abúl Fazl's own statement as translated into English in 1783 when, in concluding a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes, and the process "leaves a remainder of about *one-half a tolah* of gold, the value of which is four rupees."² It may be as well that I should add, that some of my totals differ from those to be found in Gladwin's translation of the original Persian text.³ I do not recapitulate the several divergencies, but it is necessary to prove the justice of one, at least, of my emendations. Gladwin's MSS. gave the rupee at $11\frac{1}{2}$ *máshas* (i. p. 34). The more carefully collated Dehli texts showed the real weight to be 11·5 *máshas*, a static fact of some importance, which is curiously susceptible of proof from Gladwin's own data: at page 46 of his Calcutta edition, a sum is given of the refining charges and profits, as understood by the mints of those days, wherein 989 tolas, 9 *máshas* of impure silver is stated to be reduced by 14 T. 9 M. 1 R. in refining, and a further 4 T. 10 M. 3 R. in manipulation, leaving 11641 *máshas* of silver (989. 9. 0. — 14. 9. 1. — 4. 10. 3. = 11641) which is officially announced as ordinarily coined into 1012 rupees, ($1012 \times 115 = 11638$) giving, as nearly as may be, the essential $11\frac{1}{2}$ *máshas*, which the translated text *should* have preserved in its earlier passages.

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agra, in A.D. 1609-11, during the reign of Jahángír, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies "In primis of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten rupias apiece;" to this passage is added in a marginal note, that, "a tole is a rupia challany [current] of silver, and ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold."⁴ This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official

¹ U.T., vol. ii., p. 32.

² Gladwin, i. 44.

³ 4to., Calcutta, 1783.

⁴ Purchas' Travels, folio, 1625-26, i. 217.

returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar's legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *even* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *muhar*, (No. 4 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 *dáms*; by raising the weight of the piece to the higher total given under No. 3, the gold *ilahi* was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 *dáms*. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 39 *dáms*; in the new currency a value of 40 *dáms* was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtlessly achieved higher standard of the metal employed, aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The subdivisions of the standard silver Tankah, as well as the relative exchange ratios of silver and copper in their subordinate denominations, claim a passing notice. Though Bengal proper probably remained satisfied with its lower currency of cowries, supplemented by the occasional intervention of copper, for some time after the introduction of gold and silver money, yet as the earliest copper coins of that kingdom must have been based upon and, in the first instance, supplied by Dehli mintages, the Imperial practice comes properly within the range of the local division of the general enquiry.

It has been seen that Minháj-ul-Siráj, in comparing the circulating media of Hindustán and Bengal, speaks of the currency of the former as composed of *Chitals*, a name which is seemingly used by himself and succeeding authors in the generic sense for money, as if these pieces continued to constitute the popular standard both in theory and practice, notwithstanding the introduction of the more imposing *tankahs* of gold and silver. Up to this time it has not been possible satisfactorily to demonstrate the actual value of the coin in question; in some cases indirect evidence would seem to bring its intrinsic worth down to a very low point; while, at times, the money calculations for large sums, in which its name

alone is used, appear to invest it with a metrical position far beyond the subordinate exchanges of mere bazár traffic.

In the details of the "prices-current" in the reign of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, as well as in the relation of certain monetary re-adjustments made by Fírúz Sháh III., the name of the *Chital* is constantly associated in the definition of comparative values with another subdivision entitled the *Káni*, which may now be pronounced with some certainty to have been the $\frac{1}{4}$ of the original *Tankah*, of 175 grains, and $\frac{1}{8}$ of the new silver coin of 140 grains, introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. The temporary forced currency of this Sultán necessitated in itself the positive announcement of the names, and authoritative equivalents of each representative piece, and in this abnormal practice contributes many items towards the elucidation of the quantitative constitution of the real currency of the day, which these copper tokens were designed to replace. In illustration of this point, I insert a woodcut and description of a brass coin, which was put forth to pass for the value of the silver piece of 140 grains, to whose official weight it is seemingly suggestively approximated.

Brass; weight, 132 grs.; A.H. 731; *Common*.



Obverse.—مهرشده تنكه پنجاه كاني در روزگار. Struck (lit. sealed), a tankah of fifty kánis in the reign of the servant, hopeful (of mercy), Muhammad Tughlak.

Reverse.—Area, من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن. "He who obeys the king, truly he obeys God."¹

Margin, در تخت كاه دولت اباد سال برهفصد سي يك. At the capital Daulat-ábád, year P 731.

In addition to the 50 *káni*-piece may be quoted extant specimens of this Sultán's forced issues, bearing the definitive names of "*hast-káni*" (8 kánis). "*Shash-káni*" (6 kánis) and "*Do-káni*" (2 kánis). An obverse of the latter is given in the margin.

The reverse has the unadorned name of محمد تغلق.

¹ In other examples of the forced currency, he exhorts his subjects in more urgent terms to submit to the Almighty, as represented in the person of the

Next in order, may be quoted historical evidence of Fírúz Sháh's fiscal re-organizations, in the course of which mention is made of pre-existing pieces of 48, 25, 24, 12, 10, 8, and 6 kápis, the lowest denomination called by that name; afterwards the narrative goes on to explain that, in addition to the ordinary *Chital* piece already in use, Fírúz Sháh originated, for the benefit of the poorer classes of his subjects, subdivisinal $\frac{1}{2}$ Chital and $\frac{1}{4}$ Chital pieces.

As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enable us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit *karsha*,¹ so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term *káni*, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustán, during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, *káni* means $\frac{1}{16}$, or one quarter of a sixteenth" (Brown). In Canarese $\frac{1}{16}$ (Reeve), and in Tamil $\frac{1}{16}$ (Winslow). Wilson's Glossary gives "*Káni*, corruptly, *Cawney*. Tel. Tam. Karn. $\frac{1}{16}$, or sometimes $\frac{1}{4}$."²

The term *káni*, in addition to its preferable meaning of $\frac{1}{16}$, was, as we see, also used for the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$, but its application in the former sense to the ruling integer in the present instance, seems to be conclusively settled by the relative proportions assigned to the modified *tankah* of Muhammad bin Tughlak, when compared with the normal weight of the earlier coin (: 64 :: 175 : 50 :: 136·718).

The method in which the subdivisinal currency was arranged, consisted, as has already been stated, of an admixture of the two metals, silver and copper, in intentionally varying proportions in pieces of identical weight, shape and device; so that the traders in each case had to judge by the eye and hand of the intrinsic value of the coin presented to them. To European notions this system would imply endless doubt and uncertainty, but under the practiced vision and delicate perceptive powers of touch, with which the natives of India are endowed, but little difficulty seems to have been experi-

ruling monarch, and to adopt, in effect, the bad money he covers with texts from the Kurán—the "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority among you," and "Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man," but "some" are placed over "others"—were unneeded on his coinage of pure metal.

¹ Num. Chron. iv. 58; J. A. S. B. xxxiii. 266.

² There is a coin called a "Do-gáni or Doodée," still quoted in the Madras Almanacks.

enced; and I myself can testify to the accuracy of the verdicts pronounced by the experienced men of Dehli, whose instinctive estimates were tested repeatedly by absolute assay. I published many of these results, some years ago, in the Numismatic Chronicle,¹ where the curious in these matters may trace many of the gradational pieces of the *kānis* above enumerated. As some further experiments in reference to the intrinsic values of these coins were made, at my instance, in the Calcutta Mint, I subjoin a table of the authoritative results, which sufficiently confirms the previous less exhaustive assays by the native process.

LIST OF DEHLI COINS,

Composed of Silver and Copper in varying proportions forwarded for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq., C.S., 10 June, 1853.

No. of Parcel.	A. H.	Reference to Numbers of Coins in "Pathān Sultāns."	No. of Coins in Parcel.	Weight in Grains.	Dwts. Fine Silver per lb. in each.
1	716	Mubarak Shāh. No. 66.	1	53·22	5·375
2	726	Muhammad bin Tughlak. No. 91.	1	55·15	13·300
3	895	Sikandar Bahlol. No. 163.	1	143·438	1·900
4	896	" "	4-1	142·163	2·025
"	"	" "	1	142·936	1·925
"	"	" "	1	138·913	1·615
"	"	" "	1	140·088	2·200
5	898	" "	1	141·500	1·5625
6	900	" "	2-1	140·800	2·6000
"	"	" "	1	127·600	3·0125
7	903	" "	1	143·100	4·650
8	904	" "	3-1	142·500	5·624
"	907	" "	3-1	143·250	15·5
"	"	" "	1	141·150	16·0
"	"	" "	1	139·900	16·0
9	905	" "	1	144·500	17·5
10	909	" "	1	141·500	15·0
11	910	" "	1	140·200	15·0
12	912	" "	2-1	142·500	12·0
"	"	" "	1	135·500	15·0
13	913	" "	2-1	132·250	15·0
"	"	" "	1	140·750	15·0
14	914	" "	4-1	140·000	15·0
"	"	" "	1	138·500	15·5
"	"	" "	1	141·000	16·5
"	"	" "	1	140·500	16·0
15	918	" "	4-1	138·250	10·0
"	"	" "	1	133·250	10·0
"	"	" "	1	139·750	9·0
"	"	" "	1	125·000	8·0
16	919	" "	3-1	135·250	32·0
"	"	" "	1	137·250	8·0
"	"	" "	1	137·500	8·0

¹ Vol. xv. 1852, p. 121, *et seq.*

The Institutes of Manu have preserved a record, reproduced in the subjoined table, of the various weights in use, some centuries before Christ,¹ and among other things explain, that the values of gold and copper, were calculated by a different metric scheme, to that applied to silver. A larger number of Ratis went to the Másha in the former, and the progression of numbers commenced with a five (5×16), while the silver estimates were founded on the simple arithmetic of *fours* (2×16), which constituted so special a characteristic of India's home civilization. Still, the two sets of tables starting from independent bases, were very early assimilated and adapted to each other in the advancing totals, so that the 320 ratis constituting the *ṣatamána* of the quaternary multiplication, is created in the third line by the use of a *ten*, and the quasi exotic scheme corrects its independent elements by multiplying by *four*, and produces a similar total in the contents of the *Pala* or *Nishka*. The second lines of the tables are severally filled in with the aggregate numbers, 32 and 80, and as the duplication of the former, or 64, has

¹ Manu, viii. 131.—“Those names of copper, silver, and gold (weights) which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain. 132.—The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a *trasareṇu*. 133.—Eight of those *trasareṇus* are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy-seed (*likshá*), three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard-seed (*rājāsarshapa*), and three of these last to a white mustard-seed (*gaurā-sarshapa*) 134.—Six white mustard seeds are equal to a middle-sized barley-corn (*yava*), three such barley-corns to one *kṛṣṇāla* [raktika], five *kṛṣṇālas* of gold are one *māsha*, and sixteen such *māshas* one *suvarṇa*. 135.—Four *suvarṇas* make a *pala*, ten *palas* a *dharaṇa*, but two *kṛṣṇālas* weighed together are considered as one silver *māshaka*. 136.—Sixteen of those *māshakas* are a silver *dharaṇa* or *purāṇa*, but a copper *kārsha* is known to be a *pañā* or *kārshāpaṇa*. 137.—Ten *dharaṇas* of silver are known by the name of a *ṣatamána*, and the weight of four *suvarṇas* has also the appellation of a *nishka*.” These statements may be tabulated thus as the

ANCIENT INDIAN SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS.

SILVER.					
2 ratis	=	1 māsha			
32 „	=	16 „	=	{ 1 dharaṇa, or purāṇa.	
320 „	=	160 „	=	10 „	1 ṣatamána.
GOLD.					
5 ratis	=	1 māsha.			
80 „	=	16 „	=	1 suvarṇa.	
320 „	=	64 „	=	4 „	= { 1 pala, or nishka.
3200 „	=	640 „	=	40 „	= 10 „ 1 dharaṇa.
COPPER.					
80 ratis	=	1 kārshāpaṇa.			

been seen to do duty in the one case, the probability of the use of the 160 naturally suggests itself in connexion with the theoretical organization of the copper coinage.

In proceeding to test the relations of the minor and subordinate currencies, the cardinal point to be determined is, the exchangeable value of copper as against silver. It has been affirmed by Colebrooke,¹ that the ratio stood in Manu's time at 64 to 1: accepting the correctness of this estimate, which has, I believe, remained unchallenged, and supposing the rate to have remained practically but little affected up to the Muhammadan conquest, the 175 grains of *silver* of Altamsh's new coinage, would be equivalent in metallic value to 11,200 grains of *copper*. The ancient copper *kārshāpāna* is recognised and defined as 80 ratis in weight, so that under the above conditions, and calculating the rati at 1.75 grains, each *kārshāpāna* was equal to 140 grains, and eighty of these, under the same calculations, give a return of 11,200 grains. Without at present advancing any more definite proposition, or quoting dubious coincidences, it may be as well to test these preliminary results by the Numismatic data Fīrūz Shāh's Mints have left as an heritage behind him. Among the incidents quoted regarding that monarch's monetary innovations, he is stated to have introduced, for the first time, *half* and *quarter* Chitals. On the occasion of a very elaborate revision of my monograph on the Pathān Sultāns of Dehli, while residing under the very shadow of so many of their memorial edifices, I acquired and described, among others, two specimens of the money of this king, which seemed to be closely identifiable with his Utopian productions of new and infinitesimal subdivisions of the leading copper coinage, in his expressed desire of securing for the poorest of the poor, the fractional change they might be entitled to in the most limited purchases.² These coins responded singularly in their mutual proportions, and contributed in the form of once

¹ As. Res. v. 95.

² Shams-i-Sirāj, in his work entitled the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi*, gives the following incidents regarding Fīrūz Shāh's coinages:—

شرح بیان احوال سکہ مهرشش کانے نقلست سلطان فیروزشاہ در

current money, definitive weights in copper amounting severally to 34·5 and 17·8 grains, from which a very low estimate was deduced of 34·8 and 17·4, as a normal official standard. If the 34·8 grain of the first of these be multiplied by 160, it will give a return of 5568·0 grains, and accepting this trial piece, conditionally, as Fīrūz's novel



‡ Chital of Fīrūz.

half-Chital,¹ it will be seen to furnish a general total of 11,136 grains for the copper equivalent of the 175 grains of silver contained in the old Tankah, and confirms the range of the Chital at 69·6 grains, or only ·4 short of the full contents tradition would assign it, as the unchanged *half kārshāpana* of primitive ages.² To pass to the opposite extreme for a test of the copper exchange rate, it is found that when Shīr Shāh reorganised the northern coinage of Hindustān, by the lights of

طور عظمت و دور مکنّت خویش چون سلاطین اهل گیتی سکّاه
بچندین نوع پدید آورد چنانچه زر تنکه و نقره و سکه چهل و هشت
کانه و مهر بیست و پنجکانه و بیست و چهارکانه و دوازده کانّه و ده کانّه و
هشتکانه و ششکانه و مہریک جیتل چون فیروزشاه بچندین اجناس
بی قیاس مهر وضع کردانید بعدہ در دل مبارک بالہام حضرت حق
تبارک تعالیٰ گذرانید اگر بیچارہ فقیران از اہل بازار چیزی
خرید کنند و از جملہ مال نیم جیتل و یا دانکی باقی ماند آن
دوکاندار دانکہ خود ندارد اگر این راہ گذری ان باقی بر او بگذارد
ضایع رود اگر ازان دوکاندار طلب کند چون این مہر نیست از
کجا چہ دہد باقی او دہد برین وجوہ میان بایع و مشتری مقاتل
این حالت بتطویل کشید سلطان فیروزشاه فرمان فرمود کہ مہر
نیم جیتل کہ انرا ادہ گویند و مہر دانک جیتل کہ انرا پنکہ گویند
وضع کنند تا غرض فقرا و مساکین حاصل شود

The original and unique MS., from which the above passage is extracted, is in the possession of the Nawāb Zīā-ud-dīn of Lohārū, in the Dehli territory.

¹ I once supposed these two coins to be whole and half Chitals, instead of the half and quarter pieces now adopted.

² It may be as well to state distinctly that the most complete affirmation of the numismatic existence of a *Chital* of a given weight and value, supported even by all anterior written testimony, in no wise detracts from the subsequent and independent use of the name for the purposes of account, a confusion which perchance may have arisen from the traditional permanency of the term itself, which

his southern experience, and swept away all dubious combinations of metals, reducing the copper standard to its severe chemical element; his Mint statistics show that the 178 grains of silver, constituting his revised Tankah, exchanged against 40 *dáms*, or quadrupled chitals of copper, of an ascertained weight of 323·5 grains each, producing in all a total of 12,940 grains of the latter metal, as the equivalent of 178 grains of silver, or in the ratio of 72·69 to 1; though, even in the altered weights and modified proportions, still retaining inherent traces of the old scheme of *fours*, in the half *dám* of 80, and the quarter *dám* of 160 to the new "Rupee."

in either case might eventually have been used to represent higher or lower values than that which originally belonged to it. Zia-i-Barni at one moment seems to employ the term as a fractional fiftieth of the *Tankah*, while in other parts of the same or similar documents he quotes a total of "sixty Chitals," and in his statement of progressive advances of price, mentions the rise from twenty Chitals to *half a Tankah*. Ferishtah following, with but vague knowledge, declares that fifty Chitals constituted the *Tankah*; while Abul Fazl, who had real information on these matters as understood in his own day, asserts that the *dám* was divided "in account" into twenty-five Chitals. (See Suppt. Pathán Sultáns, p. 31; N. C. xv. 166; Ferishtah, p. 299; Gladwin A. A., I., p. 36.) Then again there seems to have been some direct association between *Chitals* and *Kádis*, as General Cunningham has published a coin which he as yet has only partially deciphered, bearing the word چیتله on the one side, and بکائی [؟ یکانی] on the other. J. A. S. B., 1862, p. 425.

I have received from Mr. C. P. Brown the following note in reply to my queries as to the probable derivation of the word Chital:—

"I have been considering the inquiry you make regarding *chital* چیتل. You probably are aware that it is mentioned in the Ayin-i-Akbari, in the chapter on coins. There it evidently is an ideal money, like the farthing. You believe it may be connected with *chhe tol* چھے تول, but I rather judge it to be merely the Sanskrit *chitra* चित्र meaning 'odd' as a species; or as an odd sum, a fraction; the smallest coins in copper, which in Marata and Dakhni are called *khurda* خورد (see Wilson's Glossary, p. 288), and in America *bits*; or a fraction even of these, which in the bazar are often represented or paid in a few pinches of grain. As the Sanskrit month *Chaitra* is in Bengali *Chait*, and the *Chitra-durgam*, or 'odd coloured hill,' is in Dakhni called چیتل درگت *Chittle droog*, I think this may be the true derivation. The *cauri*, kowry, is not mentioned in the Ayin-i-Akbari, and probably was not yet introduced into India. We still call the smallest fractions 'grains;' and that which is indefinite would be *chitra*, or, according to the Musulmání pronunciation, *cheetul*. There is also a form of it, *chillara* चिल्लर or *chitra* چلرا used in the Madras countries. Wilson notices it in his Glossary, p. 112, but fails to perceive its origin. It is precisely the same in sense. In Sanskrit scientific treatises, after a general rule, *chitram* is given as being a species, or sub class: *chillara* may often be rendered miscellaneous; and this is the same in idea."

It remains to discover upon what principles the new silver coinage of Altamsh was based. That copper was the ruling standard by which the relative values of the more precious metals were determined, there can scarcely be a doubt. The estimate by Panas of the ancient Law-giver, the constant reckoning by Chitals of the early Muhammadan intruders, down to the revenue assessments of Akbar, all of which were calculated in copper coin, sufficiently establish the permanency of the local custom, and the intrinsic contents of Altamsh's *Sikkah* or الفضة of 174 or 175 grains, must primarily have been regulated by the silver equivalent of a given number of Chitals. Had the old silver *Purāṇas* been still in vogue, the new coin might have been supposed to have been based upon their weights and values; three of which *Purāṇas* would have answered to an approximate total of 96 ratis; but although the weight of the old coin had been preserved in the more modern *Dehli-wālas*, the metallic value of the current pieces had been so reduced, that from 16 to 24 would probably have been required to meet the exchange against the original silver *Tankah*; on the other hand, although the number of 96 ratis does not occur in the ancient tables, the combination of the inconvenient number of *three* *Purāṇas* into one piece, is by no means opposed to Vedic ideas; and there can be no question but that the traditional 96 ratis, of whatever origination, is constant in the modern *tolah*; but, as I have said before, the question whether the new coin was designed to constitute an even *one hundred* rati-piece, which, in process of time, by wear or intentional lowering of standard weights, came to settle down to the 96 rati *tolah*, remains to be proved by the determination of the decimals in troy-grains, which ought to be assigned to the normal *rati*.

I now proceed to notice the historical bearings of the coins of the Bengal series.

Any general revision of a special subject, coincident with the discovery of an unusually large amount of new illustrative materials, owes a first tribute to previous commentators—whose range of identification may chance to have been circumscribed by more limited archæological data, the application

of which may equally have been narrowed by the inaccessibility of written history, heretofore confined, as in the present instance, to original Oriental MSS., or the partial transcripts and translations incidentally made known to the European world. At the head of the list of modern contributors must be placed, in point of time, M. Reinaud, who, so long ago as 1823, deciphered and described several types of the Bengal Mintages, commencing with those of Ilías Sháh (No. viii. of this series).¹ Closely following appeared Marsden's elaborate work, which, among other novelties, displayed a well-sustained sequence of Bengal coins, with corresponding engravings *still unequalled*, though in point of antiquity, producing nothing earlier than the issues of the same Ilías Sháh, who had inaugurated the newly-asserted independence of the southern monarchy, with such a wealth of coinages.² Next in order, must be cited a paper, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by Mr. Laidlay, which added materially to the numismatic records of the local sovereigns, though still remaining deficient in the development of memorials of the more purely introductory history of the kingdom.³ I myself, in the course of the publication of the Imperial Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli,⁴ had occasion to notice two pieces of Bahádúr Sháh, one of which proved of considerable interest, and likewise coins of both Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, and Mubárák Sháh, whose defective marginal legends, however, defeated any conclusive assignment to their original producers.

The chronicles of a subordinate and, in those days, but little accessible country were too often neglected by the national historians at the Court of Dehli, even if their means of information as to the course of local events had not necessarily been more or less imperfect. Two striking exceptions to the ordinary rule fortuitously occur, at conjunctions specially bearing upon the present enquiry, in the narrative of

¹ Journal Asiatique, Paris, vol. iii., p. 272.

² Numismata Orientalia, London, 1825, pp. 561-585.

³ Vol. xv. (1846), p. 323.

⁴ Wertheimer, London, 1847, pp. 37, 42, 82, and Supplement printed at Dehli in 1851, p. 15. See also Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ix., pp. 176, 181; vol. x., p. 153; and vol. xv. p. 124.

Minháj-ul-Siráj, Juzjáni, and the "Travels of Ibn Batutah," the former of whom accompanied Tughán Khán to Lakhnauti, in A.H. 640,¹ where he resided for about two years. The Arab from Tangiers,² on his way round to China, as ambassador on the part of Muhammad bin Tughlak, found himself in Eastern Bengal at the inconvenient moment when Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak was in a state of undisguised revolt against the emperor, to whom they jointly owed allegiance; but this did not interfere with his practical spirit of enquiry, or his placing on record a most graphic description of the existing civilization and politics of the kingdom, and further compiling a singularly fresh and independent account (derived clearly from *visá voce* statements) of the immediately preceding dynastic changes to which the province had been subjected. So that, in effect, Ibn Batutah, with his merely incidental observations, has done more for the elucidation of the obscurities of the indigenous history of the period represented by the earlier coins of the Kooch Bahár hoard than all the native authors combined, to whose writings we at present have access.

The merits of these authors may or may not appear upon

¹ The *Tabakát-i-Násiri* of Abú Umar Minháj-ud-dín bin Siráj-ud-dín, *Juzjáni*, has been printed and published in the Persian series of the Bibliotheca Indica, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1864, pp. 453). The chapters on Indian and Central Asian affairs, with which the author was more or less personally conversant, have alone been reproduced. The usual Oriental commencement with the history of the world, the rise of Muhammadanism, etc., being mere compilations from secondary sources, have been very properly excluded from this edition. A full notice of the original work will be found in Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. of the R. A. S., p. 17 (London, 1854). Several other works of native historians, bearing upon the subject of this paper, have also been made accessible to the public in a printed form in the same collection, among which may be noted the *Tárikh-i-Firúz Sháhí* (the third king of the name in the Delhi list), by Zíá-i-Barni (Calcutta, 1862, pp. 602), and the *Muntakhab-ul-Tawárikh* of Abd ul Kádir, *Buddíni* (Calcutta, 1865, pp. 407). The editors have unadvisedly, I think, omitted the early portions of the original relating to India, and commence the publication with the accession of Akbar. An outline of the entire contents of the work will be found in Sir H. Elliot's *Historians of India* (Calcutta, 1849, p. 305).

² An English version of Ibn Batutah's *Travels* (taken from an abridged text), by Dr. S. Lee, was published in the series of the Oriental Translation Fund in 1829 (1 vol., 4to., London). A new and very complete edition of his entire Arabic Text, with a French Translation, chiefly the work of the late M. C. Defrémery, has been issued within the last few years by the Société Asiatique of Paris (4 vols. 8vo., Paris, 1853-1858).

the surface in the subsequent pages, as it is only in doubtful or difficult cases that their aid may chance to be invoked, but for the obscure series of the first Governors of Bengal, the one stands alone, and for the space of time intervening between the provincial obscurity of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the unambitious son of Balban, to the revival of public interest in Bengal, consequent upon the subjection and capture of a rebel vassal by Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh, the chance traveller describes more effectively the political mutations and varying monarchical successions than the professed historiographers treating exclusively of the annals of their own land.

The following list of Local Governors has been compiled, the early portion from the precise statements of Minháj-ul-Siráj, the latter part from the casual notices of Bengal, to be found in Zíá-i-Barni, who professed to continue the history of India from the latest date reached by the former author, or from A.H. 658 to 753, being a period of 95 years, covering the reigns of eleven kings. The last-named work was finally completed in A.H. 758.

The arrangement of the names and the dates of accession of the chiefs will be found to depart occasionally from the details given by Stewart,¹ in his excellent History of Bengal, but I have designedly sought to draw my materials independently from the original authorities, whom he was perhaps in a less favourable position for consulting than the student of the present day.

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL.

ACCESSION. A.H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
600	1. محمد بختيار خلجي	First Muhammadan conqueror of Bengal, under Kutb-ud-din of Dehli.
602	2. عزالدین محمد شیران خلجي	Succeeds to the local government after the death of Muhammad Bakhtíár.

¹ The History of Bengal, by Charles Stewart. London, 1813. 4to.

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL—*continued.*

ACCES- SION, A.H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
605	علاء الدين علي مردان خلجي	Nominated to the government by Kutb-ud-din, on whose decease in A.H. 607, he assumes independence. ¹
608	حسام الدين عوض خلجي (سلطان غياث الدين)	Commandant at Deokôt, establishes his power and assumes royal honors. He submits to Altamsh in A.H. 622, but almost immediately commences an active revolt, which is put an end to in his capture by Nâsir-ud-din Mahmûd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in A.H. 624.
624	ناصر الدين محمود بن سلطان التمس	Nâsir-ud-din had been appointed by his father Governor of Oudh, in A.H. 623, from whence he advanced against Hisâm-ud-din in 624, and recovered the kingdom of Bengal, where he remained as subking till his death early in 626.
627	علاء الدين جاني سيف الدين ايبك يغان تت	After temporary disturbances in the province, Altamsh, having restored order in A.H. 627, designated Alâ-ud-din Jânî to the charge of Bengal. Nominated to Bengal on the dismissal of Alâ-ud-din Jânî (date not given). Dies in 631 A.H.

¹ Minhâj-ul-Sirâj, who treats of the history of his own and immediately preceding times, introduces the reigns of the more powerful sovereigns with a full list of the Court notabilities, forming a sort of *Almanach de Gotha* of Muhammadan India. These lists embrace the various branches of the Royal Family, Ministers, Judges, and Governors of Provinces. The following names of the ضابط's or military administrators of Bengal, which appear in the official returns, may serve to check or confirm the imperfect data obtained from the casual notices of local history to be met with in the general narrative of the events of the Empire at large. There is this discrimination, however, to be made that these imperial nominations were often merely titular, while the effective executive was in other and independent hands:

Under Altamsh, A.H. 607-633.

ملك لکهنوتي ملك اختيار الدين محمد برادر زاده

Under Nâsir-ud-din Mahmûd, A.H. 644-664.

الملك الكبير عز الدين طغرل طغانخان ملك لکهنوتي

الملك الكبير تمرخان قيران ملك اوده و لکهنوتي

الملك الكبير جلال الدين خلج خان ملك جاني ملك لکهنوتي وكره

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL—*continued*.

ACCESSION. A.H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
631	8. عزالدین طغرل طغان خان	Pledges his allegiance to Riziah on her elevation in A.H. 634; continues in the government till 642 A.H., when he surrenders the kingdom to No. 9. (Minhāj-ul-Sirāj, the historian, was at his court at this latter period.
642	9. قمرالدین تمرخان قیران	Obtains possession of Lakhnauti on the 5th Zul Kāad, A.H. 642—dies in 644.
	10. اختیار الدین یوزبک طغرل خان	Dates uncertain. First appointed during the reign of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd of Dehli. He seems to have been a powerful ruler and a daring commander, and finally met his death in his retreat from an over-venturesome expedition into Kām rūp. He had previously assumed independence under the title of سلطان مغیث الدین.
656	11. جلال الدین مسعود ملک جانی	Appointed in A.H. 656. (قتلغ خان) subsequently in temporary possession).
657	12. عزالدین بلبن اوزبکی	Recognised, on receipt of his tributary presents at head-quarters, in the early part of A.H. 657.
657	13. تاج الدین ارسلان خان ساجر خوارزمی	Obtains a momentary advantage over No. 12 in his absence from his capital; eventually taken prisoner and superseded by No. 12.
659	14. (محمد ارسلان خان) تتر خان	Son of No. 12. ¹ On the accession of Balban in A.H. 664, he forwards elephants and tribute to Dehli.
676?	15. مغیث الدین طغرل	Appointed by Balban. ² He afterwards asserts his independence, and assumes the title of سلطان مغیث الدین. Balban sends armies against him without success, and at last proceeds in person to Bengal. Finally, Toghrāl is surprised and killed.
681	16. بغراخان ناصرالدین محمود	Second son of Balban, installed with royal honors.

¹ Zīā-i-Barni in one place, page 53, calls him تترخان پسر ارسلان خان, and again, at page 66, محمد ارسلان خان کہ اورا تتر خان گفتندی.

² Zīā-i-Barni, pp. 82-92.

As I have such frequent occasion to quote the names of the Kings of the Imperial Dynasty of Dehli, I annex for facility of reference a full list of these Sovereigns.

LIST OF THE PATHAN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.
(DEHLI).

DATE OF ACCESSION. A.H.	NO.	NAMES OF SULTANS.
589	1	Mūiz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām (1st Dynasty).
602	2	Kutb-ud-dīn Aibek.
607	3	Arām Shāh.
607	4	Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh.
633	5	Rukn-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh I.
634	6	Sultān Riziāh.
637	7	Mūiz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh.
639	8	Alā-ud-dīn Masʿūd Shāh.
644	9	Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd.
664	10	Ghīās-ud-dīn Balban.
685	11	Mūiz-ud-dīn Kaikubād.
688	12	Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh II., <i>Khūjī</i> (2nd Dynasty).
695	13	Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm.
695	14	Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh.
715	15	Shahāb-ud-dīn Umar.
716	16	Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh I.
720	17	Nāsir-ud-dīn Khusrū.
720	18	Ghīās-ud-dīn Tughlak Shāh (3rd Dynasty).
725	19	Muhammad bin Tughlak.
752	20	Firūz Shāh III., <i>bin Salar Rajab</i> .
790	21	Tughlak Shāh II.
791	22	Abūbakt Shāh.
793	23	Muhammad Shāh bin Firūz Shāh.
795	24	Sikandar Shāh.
795	25	Mahmūd Shāh bin Muhammad Shāh (Timūr, 800).
797	26	Nusrat Shāh, <i>Interregnum</i> , Mahmūd restored, 802.
815	27	Daulat Khān Lodī.
817	28	Khizr Khān <i>Syud</i> (4th Dynasty).
824	29	Mūiz-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh II.
839	30	Muhammad Shāh bin Farid Shāh.
849	31	'Aṣlam Shāh.
854	32	Bahlōl Lodī (5th Dynasty).
894	33	Sikandar bin Bahlōl.
923	34	Ibrāhīm bin Sikandar (Bāber, 930 A.H.)
937	35	Muhammad Humáyūn, <i>Moghul</i> .
946	36	Farid-ud-dīn Shīr Shāh, <i>Afghān</i> .
952	37	Islām Shāh.
960	38	Muhammad 'Aādil Shāh.
961	39	Ibrāhīm Sūr.
962	40	Sikandar Shāh (Humáyūn, 962 A.H.)

The unenlivened Chronicles of the Local Governors of Bengal enter upon a more interesting phase, in the nomination of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of the Emperor Balban, who subsequently came to prefer the easy dignity of Viceroy, in the more even climate of the south, in derogation of his birth-right's higher honours, and the attendant dangers of Imperialism at Dehli. One of the most touching chapters of Indian history is contributed by the incidents of this monarch's meeting with his own arrogant son, Muiz-ud-dín Kaikubád, who had succeeded to the superior dignities abjured by the father.¹ They then met as nominal Vassal and Suzerain, but little unequal in power, and each occupying independent and preparedly hostile camps, on the ordinary route between their respective capitals. Oriental etiquette, and more reasonable distrust, for a time, delayed the interview, in which, at last, nature was destined to re-assert its laws, and to reconcile even conflicting royal interests, by subduing, for the moment, the coarse vices of the son in the presence of the tempered virtues of the father. Repeated amicable conferences, however, merely resulted in each returning on his way, with but little change in the relative political position of either; and the comparatively obscure repose of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd remained undisturbed, while other successors filled his son's throne at Dehli. The more immediate question bearing upon the attribution of the earliest coins in the Kooch Bahár treasure, is exactly how long did Násir-ud-dín continue to live and reign. Zíá-i-Barni,² and those who follow his ill-digested history, affirm that he retained his provincial kingship till 699 A.H., when he divested himself of all symbols of royalty in the mere dread of the confessedly overwhelming power of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, to be, however, reinstated by that Sultán; and, finally, it is asserted that Násir-ud-dín was still in existence, and once again reinvested with the full insignia of a king, by Tughlak Sháh, in A.H. 724.

Zíá-i-Barni, p. 142; Ibn Batutah, iii., p. 178; Lee's Translation, p. 117; and *قران السعدين* of Amír Khusrú, *Dehlii*.

² Printed edition, p. 451; Budauni MS.; Ferishtah (Briggs, i. p. 406).

Ibn Batutah, a higher authority in proximity of time, and obviously more intimate with the purely indigenous history, states that Násir-ud-dín, on his return from his interview with his son, reigned some years (سنتين),¹ an expression which is scarcely compatible with the idea of a nearly continuous rule of "forty-three solar years," and a decease in A.H. 725, as adopted by Stewart:² a prolongation of administrative functions indeed altogether inconsistent with the direct evidence of the dates on the money of Kai Káuś, or the parallel proof of Shams-ud-dín's exercise of the functions of sovereignty in 702 A.H., associated as they are with the uncontested historical and numismatic demonstration of the succession of one grandson, Shaháb-ud-dín, whose ejection from his inherited section of the kingdom by his more powerful brother, Bahádur, formed so prominent a ground for imperial interference in the affairs of Bengal, are each and all too well ascertained to leave any doubt that the authors who make Násir-ud-dín's reign extend to 725 must be in error; the source of the mistake seems as simple as it is obvious, the mere omission of the son's name as preceding that of the father, in Persian MS. writing, or simple ignorance of the order of local successions, would account for the whole difficulty. And, as is obvious, Ibn Batutah's own personal knowledge, and possibly correct autograph version, reproduced independently in other lands, have not saved later transcripts of his work from analogous imperfections.³

But there are other and more direct internal evidences in the texts of the Indian authors, of confusion and imperfect knowledge in the relation of the incidents attendant upon the re-settlement of Bengal by Alá-ud-dín in A.H. 699, where it is stated that "a chief, named Bahádur Khán," was at this time appointed to "the eastern districts of Bengal,"⁴ with the object of dividing the province, and thus rendering its rulers

¹ French edition, iii., p. 179, and xiii. Dr. Lee's سنتين "two years," p. 118, is an error.

² Stewart's Bengal, p. 80.

³ Ex-gr., Bahádur is made the son of Násir-ud-dín, at p. 179, vol. iii., instead of the grandson, which the text at p. 210, vol. iii., and p. 213, vol. iv., affirms him to have been. Lee's MS. authorities again, in omitting the intermediate name of Násir-ud-dín, skip a generation, and ante-date Shams-ud-dín (Fírdúz) in constituting him a son of Ghíás-ud-dín Balban (p. 128).

⁴ Ferishtah, Briggs, i., p. 406; Stewart, p. 79.

"more subservient to the Court of Dehli." It is highly improbable, had Násir-ud-dín been living at the epoch in question, that a grandson of his should have been selected for such a charge to the supercession of his own father, Sham-ud-dín, or in priority to the son of that father, Shaháb-ud-dín, who was the elder or perhaps better-born brother of Bahádur, each of whom, Ibn Batutah certifies, in turn succeeded to royal honours in the old capital of Bengal.

Having completed this simple outline of the historical data, I now proceed to describe the coins in their due order; first on the list in priority of time is a piece which I can only doubtfully assign to Bengal, and whose individual appropriation, moreover, must remain to a certain extent inconclusive. The coin itself will be seen to bear the hereditary name of the first Moslem Conqueror of India, *Mahmúd* of Ghazní, and the oft-revived title of the founder of the dynasty, *Násir-ud-dín* Subuktagín, a conjunction of royal designations already seen to have been applied to a succession of Pathán princes, whose intitulation followed antecedent conventionalisms.

Násir-ud-dín. Mahmúd Sháh.

No. 1.

Silver. Size, viii. Weight, 163.1 grs. Unique, *British Museum*.

OBV.

REV.

السَّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ
أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ
شَاهُ بْنُ سَلْطَانٍ

فِي عَهْدِ الْإِمَامِ
الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لِلَّهِ

Margin, illegible.



The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of *two* individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh, the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the like name and title on the decease of his brother, in 626 A.H.¹ The citation of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mostansir billah," on the reverse, limits the final period of the issue of the coin, not exactly to the 5th month of the year A.H. 640, when that Pontiff died, but with clear precision to A.H. 641, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the Mintages of the capital of Hindustán.²

This younger son was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Dehli, in 644 A.H., after the intervening reigns of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, Rizásh, Muiz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, and Alá-ud-dín Masáúd Sháh, in all, however, extending only over a space of eleven years, posterior to the death of Altamsh. The second Mahmúd, must, under these conditions, have been but of tender years, and though, at this conjuncture, promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, not in any position to exercise authority in his own person, and less likely to have had medallie tribute paid to him by his father, should such have been the origin of the exceptional specimen under review. To the first-born Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, no such objections apply; he was very early invested by his sire, with the administration of the important government of Hánsi, and in 623 A.H., advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which *quasi* frontier, he was called upon to proceed against Hisám-ud-dín Avaz, (No. 4 in the list of Governors, *supra*), who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here, his arms were fortuitously, but not the less effectually, successful, so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella, and its attendant dignities,³ what-

¹ سلطان اسلام ناصر الدین محمود چنانچه وارث اسم و لقب او است
Tabakát Násirí, p. 181; بلقب و نام پسر مهتر مخصوص گردانیده

² Pathán Sultáns of Dehli, coin No. 33, p. 22.

³ His title is usually limited by Minháj-ul-Siráj to ملك pp. 177, 181, 201;

ever the exact measure of these may have been. Under such triumphant coincidences, it is possible that the universal favourite, the still loyal heir-apparent, may have placed his own name on the coinage, without designed offence, especially as at this time Moslem Mints were only beginning to adapt themselves to their early naturalization on Indian soil, and when the conqueror's camps carried with them the simple machinery, and equally ready adepts, for converting bullion plunder on the instant into the official money of a general, or his liege sovereign. Altamsh's own circulating media were only in process of crude development at this period, and had scarcely risen superior to the purely Hindu currencies it had served the purpose of his predecessors to leave virtually intact: his own strange *Türki* name,¹ and that of many of his successors, continued to figure in the *Nāgarī* letters of the subject races on the surfaces of the mixed silver and copper coins of indigenous origin, at times commemorative of imperfectly achieved conquests, and the limited ascendancy implied in the retention of the joint names of the conqueror and the momentarily subject monarch;² while the Sultān's own trial-

but on one occasion سلطان crops out incidentally in the Court list where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated, p. 178.

¹ This name I have, as a general rule, retained in the form accepted as the conventional English orthography—*Altamsh*. The correct rendering of the original is still an open question, but the more trustworthy authors reproduce the designation as التمس, a transcription supported in a measure by the repetition of the third letter in the Kufic dies, and made authoritative, in as far as local pronunciation is concerned, by the Hindī correlative version of बितितिमिशि (Pathān Sultāns, Coin No. 14). The inscription on the KUTB MINAR, at Delhi, has ايلتمش, which accords with the Arabic numismatic rendering on the reverses of the Hindī Coins now cited.

See also Tāj-ul-Maāsir, *Altimish*: Wasf, *Altimish*, and at times اَلْتَمِش Badauni, *Altitimish*.

Elliot's *Historians of India*, p. 111.

² See coins of *Chahir deva*.

Obverse. Bull. Legend: जसावरी श्री समसोरसदिवि

Reverse. Horseman. Legend: श्री चाहड देव

—Pathān Sultāns, No. 15; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xix. 16. 31, 34; Prinsep's *Essays*, i. 333, pl. xxvi. 31; *Minhāj-ul-Sirāj*, pp. 215, 240; Tod's *Rajasthan*, ii. 451; and J.A.S. Bengal, 1865, p. 126.

pieces, in silver, were indeterminate in their design and legends, as well as utterly barbarous in their graphic execution.

Had the coin under review followed the usual phraseology and palæography of the Imperial Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd's Mint legends, it might have been imagined that an ancient and obsolete reverse had been by hazard associated with a new obverse. But the obverse inscription in the present instance differs from the later Dehli nomenclature in the addition of the word *Sháh* after the name of *Mahmúd*,¹ and contrasts as singularly in the forms of the letters, and the insertion of the short vowels with the more deferred issues, as it, on the other hand, closely identifies itself in these marked peculiarities with the initial dies of Altamsh and the closely sequent coinages of Rizíah, two of which latter are now known to be the produce of the Lakhnauti Mint.

RIZIAH.

The earliest coins that can be definitely attributed to a Bengal mint, are those of the celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Rizíah, the daughter of Altamsh. The ministers at her father's court were scandalized at the preference it was proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne; but the Sultán justified his selection, alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under the unusual advantages of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Moslem households, aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the leading and independently-domiciled wife. After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz, extending over

¹ So, in written history, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, سلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين محمود بن السلطان (pp. 9, 177, 178, 201, etc.) which is in contrast to the nominal adjunct so constant with his predecessors, Fírúz Sháh, Bahrám Sháh, Mas'úd Sháh. On one occasion only does the additional Sháh appear in a substituted list of Altamsh's Court (p. 178), where the text gives—1. Sultán Násir-ud-dín * * 2. Sultán Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd; and at the end, after the name of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, comes "Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh."

less than seven months—who freely exemplified by his misconduct his father's prophetic reproach—Rizíah succeeded in establishing her supremacy in the city of Dehli (A.H. 734), and Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Queen—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islám, under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant. Rizíah's early inauguration was attended with no inconsiderable danger and difficulty, arising from the organised military resources of the various governors of provinces, who hesitated in conceding their allegiance. Eventually, however, to use the expression of Minháj-ul-Siráj, quiet was established throughout the empire, and Rizíah's sway was acknowledged from "Daibal to Lakhnautí." In A.H. 737, the Empress proceeded in person to quell an outbreak on the part of Ikhtíár-ud-dín Altúníah, Governor of Tiberhind; but was taken captive in the engagement that ensued, and, possibly with scant ceremony, introduced into the harem of the conqueror, who shortly afterwards advanced upon Dehli in the hope of recovering the sovereignty, to which he had thus acquired an adventitious claim; but his army was in turn defeated, and himself and Rizíah met their deaths near Kaithal in the month of Rabi-al-Awal, A.H. 738.¹

The contemporary biographer in his official lists styles this queen *السلطان رضية الدين*, a title which she affects on the ordinary copper coins,² but on the silver money she adopts the designation of *جلالة الدين*.

Jaldlat-ud-din. Rizíah.

COIN No. 2.

Lakhnautí, A.H. ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Plate I., figure 1.

Type, *Obverse*, the whole surface is occupied by the legend.

Reverse, circular area, enclosing a double-lined square.

Narrow margin.

¹ Tabakát Násiri, pp. 183, 185, 251. See also Ibn Batutah, iii. pp. 167, 168.

² Pathán Sultáns, Nos. 28, 29.

OBV.

السلطان الاعظم
جلالة الدنيا والدين
ملكه ابنت التمش السلطان
مهرة امير المؤمنين

REV.

في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير
المؤمنين

Reverse Margin, * * هذا الفضة بكنوتي سنة * *

(See also a similar coin from the Laknauti Mint, Plate i., fig. 27, page 19. Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán.¹

¹ It would seem from the orthography adopted in this earliest record of the name of *Laknauti* (لكنوتي) that the original Semitic transcription was designed to follow the classical derivation of *Lakshmanavati* (लक्ष्मणवती), which was soon, however, adapted to the more colloquial *Luchhman* (لجھمن) by the addition of an *h* after the *k*, as لکھنوتي; in which form it appears under the first local Sultáns (coin No. 3, etc.), Minháj-ul-Siráj relates its elevation to the rank of the capital in supercession of Nuddeah by Muhammad Bakhtiar in the following terms:

چون محمد بختيار آن مملکت را ضابط کرد شهر نوید را خراب
بگذاشت و بر موضعی که لکهنوتي است دارالملک ساخت

Printed edit. p. 151. The same author at p. 162 gives a full account of the remarkable size, progress, and general topography of the city as existing in 641 A.H. on the occasion of his own visit.

It is difficult to say when the name of the city was changed to *Gaur*, a denomination which is never made use of by the older authorities. Abul Fazl says, "Formerly it was called Lucknouty, and sometimes Gour" (A. A. ii. p. 11); while Budáuni gives a ridiculous version of the origin of the designation as being derived from غوري. He writes محمد بختيار معابد و بتخانهای

کفار را ویران ساخته مساجد و خوانق و مدارس کرد و دارالملک

بنام خویش تعمیر فرمود که کور نام دارد. The obvious imperfection of the critical philology of the derivation, however, debars its reception, as does the caustic alternative of کُور = "grave," which the often deserted site, under the speedy action of water and a semi-tropical vegetation, may have deservedly earned for it.

But it is quite legitimate to infer that as *گৌڑ* was the ancient name for central Bengal (Wilson, Glossary, *sub voce*; Albirúni, quoted J.R.A.S. i., N.S., p. 471), and so intimately associated with the tribal divisions of the indigenous Brahmans, that the designation originated in the popular application of the name of the country to its own metropolis, and that the town continued to be called *Gaur* in vernacular speech in spite of the new names so frequently bestowed upon it by its alien lords.

I.—BUKN-UD-DYN KAI KAUS.

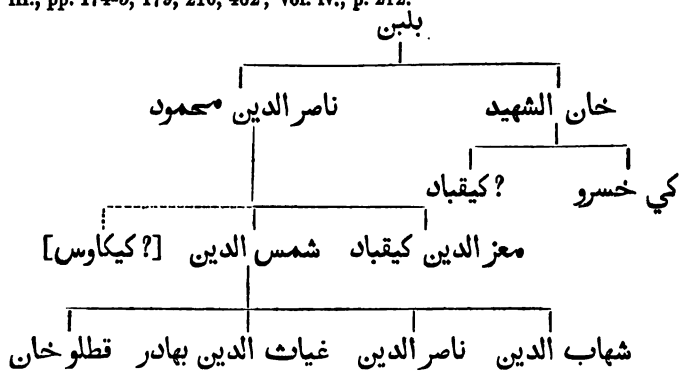
The full and satisfactory identification of the king who ruled under the designation of Kai Káús has yet to be accomplished. Rajendra lál Mitra has suggested a notion that Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of Balban, so often mentioned in this article, sought, as local ruler of Bengal, "to continue his allegiance to his grandson Kaimurs [momentarily king of Dehli], even after his deposition, and possibly after his death,"¹ by retaining his name on the public money. I should be disposed to seek a less complicated explanation of the numismatic evidences. Kai Káús' date, tested by the examples of his mintages in the Kooch Bahár hoard, is limited, in range of time, to five years (691–695 A.H.);² a latitude might be taken beyond the ascertained units, which are somewhat indeterminate in their tracings, and have equally suffered from abrasion, on the exposed margins of the coins, but the *ninety* and the *six hundred* can scarcely be contested. If we examine the political state of India at this period, we find that Hindustán was abnormally quiet under the feeble rule of Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz (687–695 A.H.): Alá-ud-dín's conquests in the Dakhin could have but little affected Bengal, so that any changes that may have taken place in the latter kingdom were probably due to successional or revolutionary causes arising within its own limits. We can scarcely build up a theory of an access of vigour and assumption of independence by Násir-ud-dín himself; nor is it probable that, in such a case, he would have changed both his title and his name. Besides, the array of titles on the coins in the triple succession of *Sultáns* is altogether inconsistent with his actual origin. Though he was the son of one emperor of Dehli, and the father of another, he could scarcely ignore the rise of the former from a state of slavery, or conceal the fact that Balban himself never pretended to have been the offspring of a king. The two alternatives remain of either supposing

¹ Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1864, p. 508.

² Rajendra lál says, "the units *one* and *three* are perfectly clear." Col. Guthrie's three coins are imperfect in the word for the unit. I observe traces of a *four* on two specimens; and I read, with some certainty, 695 on another.

that Násir-ud-dín died before 691 A.H., a question discussed elsewhere, or to conclude that his son Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káuś temporarily assumed kingship during the lifetime of his father,¹ and that his limited reign and local obscurity saved his memory from the comments of history. I fully endorse Rajendra lál's suggestion that Kai Káuś would have been likely to be selected as a name for one of a family who took so many of their designations from Persian heroic ages, and the elaborate intitulation adopted by that prince, on his coins, of the "Son and grandson of a Sultán," favours such an identification.² It will be seen that although the opening terms of his obverse legends follow the conventional and unvarying mint phraseology in the use of السلطان, *the* (reigning) Sultán, yet after his own proper name he styles himself merely سلطان, and seemingly desired to strengthen his position by the insertion of the regal titles of his father and grandfather, though there is so far room for questioning this supposition in the fact that the father had fallen short of supreme power, and was only doubtfully authorized to call himself Sultán, while in strictness the Imperial *Balban* should have been designated *the Sultán* (past regnant); but, on the other

¹ The following is the genealogical tree, according to Ibn Batutah. See vol. iii., pp. 174-5, 179, 210, 462; vol. iv., p. 212.



² The name of the son of Kai Kobād, who was elevated to the throne of Dehli on the death of his father, is variously given by Oriental writers as Shams-ud-dīn كيكاورث and كيكاورث. Budāunī and the *Mirāt-ul-Alam* (MS.) give Kai Káuś, but the majority of authors prefer the *Kaiomurs*. Zīā-i-Barnī does not state the name of the boy, but mentions a son of Altamah, in the previous generation, as having been called *Kaiomurs* (printed ed. p. 126).

hand, Násir-ud-dín had been so long virtually a king in the south, that the complimentary use of the term was quite within heraldic licence; and it is to be remarked, that a similar omission of the supreme prefix occurs in *Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh's* coin (No. 1), which, if correctly attributed, would prove the legitimacy¹ of the optional use of one or the other form.

These are avowedly mere speculations; but when it is considered how much attention was paid in India, in those days, to every varying shade and degree of honorary rank, how much importance was attached to even the colours of official umbrellas,² and other, to us, minor observances, it cannot but be felt that these subordinate indications may chance to prove of material aid in illustrating doubtful interpretations.

Kai Káuś.

No. 3.

Lakhnautí, A.H. "691, 693,"³ and 694-695.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Very rare. Plate I. fig. 2.

Type, as in the previous coins.

Obv.

Rev.

السلطان الاعظم	الامام
ركن الدنيا والدين ابو	المستعصم
المظفر كيكاس سلطان	امير المؤمنين
بن سلطان بن سلطان	

ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت لكهنوتي ستة خمس وتسعين وستماية، Margin.

¹ The Bengal Mints, after the initial uncertainty, soon settle themselves down to follow the established Dehli models. In the latter, it will be seen, great care was taken by all those sovereigns who could boast of a Royal descent, to define the fact upon their coins. Bahrám Sháh, Mas'úd Sháh, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd bin Altamsh, and Ibrahim bin Firúz all entitle themselves **السلطان**. Balban, Kai Kubád, Jalál-ud-dín Firúz, and the great Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh have to be content with their own self-achieved **السلطان**.

² *Minhaj-ul-Siraj*, p. 263; *ditto*, p. 181, A.H. 625. **وسه چتر برداست لعل و سیاہ و سپید** و چتر سبز یافت

³ Babu Rajendra lál Mitra notices four coins of this king with the dates 691 and 693. *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1864, p. 579. He was disposed to read the mint as Sunárgaon. Of Col. Guthrie's three specimens, two bear distinct traces of the name of Lakhnautí.

II.—SHAMS-UD-DĪN FIRUZ.

Whatever may have been the actual date of Násir-ud-dīn's decease or political obscurity, we tread upon more firm ground in the conjoint testimony of the coins and the historical reminiscences of Ibn Batutah, in the assurance that his son, Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz, was in full possession of power in Western Bengal at the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father, in 722-3 A.H.¹ The African traveller incidentally mentions that, to the court of this southern monarch fled the nobles who had engaged in the contemplated treason, which originated in the camp of the army of the Dakhin, of which the imperial heir was commander. Professedly written history is altogether at fault in establishing the existence or illustrating the reign of this sovereign; and even Ibn Batutah² does little more than place upon

¹ As this passage presents no particular difficulty, beyond the difference of the texts from which English and French translators have drawn their inspiration, I merely annex the rendering given in the amended Paris edition, vol. iii., p. 210. "Les autres émirs s'enfuirent près du Sultan Chems eddīn, fils du sultan Ghiyāth eddīn Balaban, et se fixèrent à sa cour. . . Les émirs fugitifs séjournèrent près du sultan Chems eddīn. Dans la suite, celui-ci mourut, léguant le trône à son fils Chihāb eddīn. Ce prince succéda à son père; mais son frère cadet, Ghiyāth eddīn Behādoūr Boūrah (ce dernier mot signifie, dans la langue indienne, *le noir*), le vainquit, s'empara du royaume, et tua son frère Kothloū Khān, ainsi que la plupart de ses autres frères. Deux de ceux-ci, le sultan Chihāb eddīn et Násir eddīn, s'enfuirent près de Toghlok, qui se mit en marche avec eux, afin de combattre le fratricide. Il laissa dans son royaume son fils Mohammed en qualité de vice-roi, et s'avança en hâte vers le pays de Lacnaouty. Il s'en rendit maître, fit prisonnier son sultan Ghiyāth eddīn Behādoūr et reprit avec ce captif le chemin de sa capitale." See also Lee's Translation, p. 128.

² Ibn Batutah in the following extract tells us so much about the real history of Bengal at, and previous to his own visit, that I quote the Arabic text *extenso*; I feel it is the more necessary to reproduce the original version on this occasion, as Dr. Lee's translation is altogether deficient in any reference to the passage, which was clearly wanting in the MSS. at his disposal.

* * ذكر سلطان بنجالة وهو السلطان فخر الدين الملقب بفخره
سلطان فاضل محب في الغرباء وخصوصاً الفقراء والمتصوفة وكانت
مملكة هذه البلاد للسلطان ناصر الدين بن السلطان غياث الدين
بلبن وهو الذي ولي ولده معز الدين الملك بدھلي فتوجه لقتاله والتقى
بالنهر وسمى لقاؤهما لقاء السعدين وقد ذكرنا ذلك وانه ترك الملك
لولده وعاد الى بنجالة فاقام بها الى ان توفي وولى ابنه شمس الدين

record the affiliation, elevation, and decease of Shams-ud-dîn, whose own coins alone furnish the additional item of his regal name of Fîrûz; and in their marginal records establish the fact of his possession of Lakhnautî during the period embraced between the years 702-722, and at some moment of

الى ان توفى فولى ابنه شهاب الدين الى ان غلب عليه اخوه
غياث الدين بهادور بور فاستنصر شهاب الدين بالسلطان غياث الدين
تغلتي فيصرة واخذ بهادور بور اسيرا ثم اطلقه ابنه محمد لما ملك
على ان يقاسمه ملك فنكت عليه فقاتله حتى قتله وولى على هذه
البلاد صهرا له فقتله العسكر واستولى على ملكها على شاه وهو اذ ذاك
ببلاد اللكنوتى فلما رآى فخر الدين ان الملك قد خرج عن اولاد
السلطان ناصر الدين وهو مولى لهم خالف بسدكاوان وبلاد بنجالة
وامستقل بالملك واشتدت الفتنة بينه وبين على شاه فاذا كانت ايام
الشتاء والوحل اغار فخر الدين على بلاد اللكنوتى فى البحر لقوته فيه
واذا عادت الايام التى لامطرفيا اغار على شاه على بنجالة فى البر
لقوته فيه

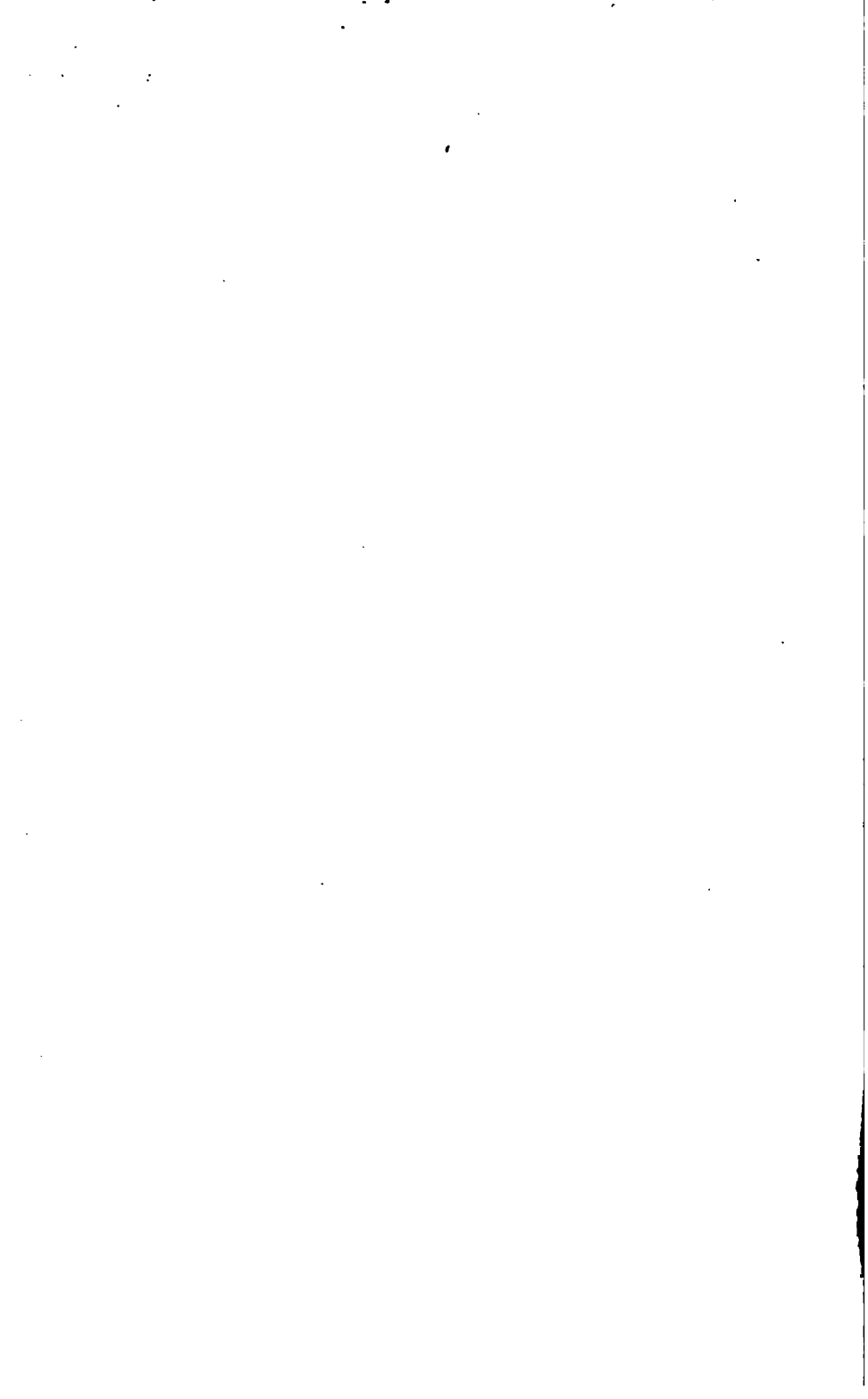
Vol. iv. p. 212, Paris edition.

TRANSLATION.

C'est le Sultan Fakhr eddîn, surnommé Fakreh, qui est un souverain distingué, aimant les étrangers, surtout les fakirs et les soufis. La royauté de ce pays a appartenu au Sultan Nâssir eddîn, fils du Sultan Ghiyâth ed dîn Balaban, et dont le fils, Mo'izz eddîn, fut investi de la souveraineté à Dihly. Nâssir eddîn se mit en marche pour combattre ce fils; ils se rencontrèrent sur les bords du fleuve, et leur entrevue fut appelée la rencontre des deux astres heureux. Nous avons déjà raconté celâ, et comment Nâssir eddîn abandonna l'empire à son fils et retourna dans le Bengale. Il y séjourna jusqu'à sa mort, et eut pour successeur son (autre) fils, Chams eddîn, qui, après son trépas, fut lui-même remplacé par son fils, Chihâb eddîn, lequel fut vaincu par son frère, Ghiyâth eddîn Bêhâdour Boûr. Chihâb eddîn demanda du secours au Sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Toghlok, qui lui en accorda, et fit prisonnier Bêhâdour Boûr. Celui-ci fut ensuite relâché par le fils de Toghlok, Mohammed, après son avènement, à condition de partager avec lui le royauté du Bengale; mais il se révolta contre lui, et Mohammed lui fit la guerre jusqu'à ce qu'il le tuât. Il nomma alors gouverneur de ce pays un de ses beaux-frères, que les troupes massacrèrent. 'Aly Châh, qui se trouvait alors dans le pays de de Lacnaouty, s'empara de la royauté du Bengale. Quand Fakhr eddîn vit que la puissance royale était sortie de la famille du Sultan Nâssir eddîn, dont il était un des affranchis (ou clients), il se révolta à Sodcâwân et dans le Bengale, et se déclara indépendant. Une violente inimitié survint entre lui et 'Aly Châh. Lorsqu'arrivaient le temps de l'hiver et la saison des pluies, Fakhr eddîn faisait une incursion sur le pays de Lacnaouty, au moyen du fleuve, sur lequel il était puissant. Mais quand revenaient les jours où il ne tombe pas de pluie, 'Aly Châh fondait sur le Bengale par la voie de terre, à cause de la puissance qu'il avait sur celle-ci.







his ownership the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonárgaon. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the superogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as السلطان.

Shams-ud-dín. Fírúz Sháh.

No. 4.

Lakhnautí, A.H. 702,¹ 715 (Col. Bush) 720, 722.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168.4 grs. Very rare. Plate I., fig. 3.
Type as above.

OBV.	REV.
السلطان الاعظم	الامام
شمس الدنيا والدين	المستعصم
ابو المظفر فيروز شاه	امير المؤمنين
السلطان	

Margin, ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت لکھنوتی سنة عشرين و [سبعماية]

No. 5.

Sonárgaon, A.H. ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Unique.
Type as above.

III.—SHAHAB-UD-DYN. BUGHRAH SHAH.

Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shaháb-ud-dín, the son of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, and grandson of the once recognised heir-apparent of Balban.

¹ See also Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán, p. 37, coin dated 702 A.H. This coin was published by me in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A.H. I was not at the time unversed in the decipherment of Arabic numbers, and probably from the very difficulty of placing the piece itself, I may the more rely upon the accuracy of my original interpretation. I mention this fact as I am at present unable to refer to the coin itself.

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined—if Calcutta selections be not at fault¹—to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as *بعد*; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of *بغرة*, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of *بغراخان*,² a name which was even further distorted from the Túrki original by the conversion of the medial *r* into the vernacular *cerebral* *ꣳ* or *ꣳ*=*d*. For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenor of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-dín's mintages, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghíás-ud-dín *Bahádur Sháh*, who in 724 A.B. drove this, his own brother, Shaháb-ud-dín to take refuge with Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh. Bahádur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shaháb-ud-dín,³

¹ The name of this king does not appear in any of Rajendra lál's lists.

² The ancient name of *طنغاچ بغراخان* of Bokhára notoriety in 350 A.H. (Fræhn *Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum*, pp. 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final *ꣳ* in place of the vowel *á* is derived from Ibn Batutah, who uniformly writes the word with an *ꣳ* (iii. 231, 5, 293). Ferishtah (*text*, p. 131) has *بقرأ*, whence Stewart's *Bagora* (p. 74). Dow gave the name as *Kera*, and Briggs as *Kurra* (i. pp. 265, 270, etc.).

³ Those who delight in interesting coincidences might see, in this name of Shaháb-ud-dín, a most tempting opportunity for associating him with a really important record by the Indigènes themselves, inscribed on a stone slab in the fort of Chunár, setting forth their victory over a "*Malik*" Shaháb-ud-dín, quoted as acting under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in Samvat 1390 (A.H. 734); but I confess I do not myself encourage the identification. Chunár is certainly not out of the range of access from Bengal; but other men of mark may have filled this command, and the name of the fortress itself is never heard of in reference to the affairs of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, in those early days, though the main road of communication between the two capitals of the north and the south took its course through Budáun or Kanauj and Jaunpore. The inscription

as far as the exercise of his Mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have been lost to fame, from the date when he was absorbed with an associate fugitive brother (Násir-ud-dín) under the ægis of the Emperor of Dehli.

is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities; and as such I transcribe both the text and Dr. Mills' translation of the brief passages which may chance to illustrate the general subject.

Verse 5 :

सहाब्दीनादिदुष्टात्मयवनेह्महम्मदा ।

सेराजो मि[चितोऽस्म]ाखो वैरिणापि कृपानिधिः ॥

"By MUHAMMAD, lord of the hostile YAVANAS SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN and the rest, though an enemy, was SAIRÁJA, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister."

Verse 11 :

संवत् १३९० भाद्रपदि ५ गुरी सेराजदेवनगर

यागतमलिकसहाब्दीनरचितं ॥

"Samvat 1390, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from MALIK SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN, acting under the protecting favour of SAIRÁJA DEVA aforesaid."

—(See Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. v., 1836, p. 341).

A subordinate but still more open inquiry also suggests itself in connexion with the mention of Shaháb-ud-dín in 734 A.H., as to whether, amid the strange confusion of names and titles, the "Kadr Khán," who is noticed by Ferishtah under the original designation of Malik Bídár Khilji, may not, perchance, have been the identical Shaháb-ud-dín *Bughrah* reinstated as simple governor in Lakhnauti as his brother Bahádúr was restored to power in Sonárgaon. I am aware that this is treacherous ground to venture upon; but such a supposition is not without other incidental support, especially in Ibn Batutah's passage (original, iii. 214, quoted at p. 48), where Kadr Khán is spoken of as if he had been in effect the last scion of the family of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Bughrah.

The original passages in Ferishtah are as follows (i. p. 237) :—

و ملک بیدار خلجی را قدر خان خطاب کرده چون شاه ناصر
الدین فوت شده بود اقطاع لکهنوتی باو داد (i. p. 244). درین وقت
یکی از نوکران قدر خان که اورا ملک فخر الدین گفتندی بعد از
فوت بیرام خان در بنکاله بغی ورزید و قدر خان را کشته خزاین
لکهنوتی متصرف شد

See also Briggs' Translation, i. pp. 412, 423.

The Tārīkh Mubárak Shāhi has the name in manifest mistranscription as *Bandár*.

و ملک بندار خلجی قدر خان شد و اقطاع لکهنوتی یافت

A difficulty necessarily suggests itself in regard to the tribe of *Khilji*, but the use of the name in its non-ethnic sense might readily be explained by the old subordination of the Bengal family to the Khilji dynasty of Fīrūz, or the specially *Khilji* serial succession of the earlier governors of Bengal.

Shaháb-ud-dín. Bughrah Sháh.

No. 6.

Mint, ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168.5 grs. Two coins only, *Col. Guthrie*. Plate I., fig. 4.

Type as usual.

OBV.

REV.

السلطان الاعظم
شهاب الدين
ابو المظفر بغده شاه
السلطان بن سلطان

الامام
المستعصم
امير المؤمنين

Margin, (remainder illegible)

ضرب هذال

IV.—BAHADUR SHAH.

The single point in the biography of Bahádur Sháh, which remains at all obscure, is the date of his first attaining power. Ibn Batutah records with sufficient distinctness, that he conquered and set aside his regnant brother *Shaháb-ud-dín*, sometime prior to Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak's reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly-held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offending Bahádur, who was, however, soon to be released, and restored with added honours,¹ by Muhammad bin Tughlak, almost immediately on his own accesssion. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Bahádur to Eastern Bengal by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad in A.H. 799,² assigning to him an inconceivable interval of

¹ چون سلطان بهادر سنارکامی را بملک اوده رخصت کرد آنچه زر

نقد در خزانه بود بیکبار در انعام اوداد. *Tabakát-i-Akbari*.

See also *Zifá-i-Barni*, printed edit. p. 461.

² Stewart, p. 75. *Ferishtah* (Briggs) i. 406.

placid repose until A.H. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he was afterwards so celebrated.

The two statements are certainly at variance, but Ibn Batutah's is the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the up to this time legible dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kooch Bahár *trouvaille*, but I have none as to the clear expression of A.H. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect die-rendering of the عشر = 10 for عشرين = 20;¹ which would bring the corrected range of Bahádur's dates to 720-724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate place of mintage, for in 720-722, his father, Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated "*Lakhnauti*;" but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádur, in the earlier days, used the name of *Lakhnauti* as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the Eastern capital "Sonárgaon," occurs on a coin of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of Urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádur of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning might be designed, as implying that Bahádur himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

¹ Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal Mint Masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or omission of the conjunction *wa*, which, as a rule, is required to couple the *units* and the *twenties*, but is not used with the *units* and *tens*.

Tughlak Sháh's intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádur. The result of the Imperial expedition to the South was the defeat, capture, and transport to Dehli of Bahádur Sháh ; but among the first acts of the new Sultán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordinary local governor, transferable at will, and that possibly the interests of the father and son, in their newly-established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Suzerains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations of the present series is contributed by coin No. 9, in the legends of which Bahádur acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A.H. 628.¹ The subjection seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as sometime in or after the year A.H. 730 Bahádur appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title *Ghiáspur* (coin No. 8), and in A.H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire.

¹ Ibn Batutah gives the following additional particulars of Bahádur's reinstallation :—"Il [Muhammad bin Tughlak] lui fit de nombreux cadeaux en argent, chevaux, éléphants, et le renvoya dans son royaume. Il expédia avec lui le fils de son frère, Ibráhîm Khân ; il couvint avec Behâdour Botûrah qu'ils posséderaient ledit royaume par égales moitiés ; que leurs noms figureraient ensemble sur les monnaies ; que la prière serait faite en leur nom commun, et que Ghiyâth eddîn enverrait son fils Mohammed dit Berbath (برباط), come ôtage près du souverain de l'Inde. Ghiyâth eddîn partit, et observa toutes les promesses qu'il avait faites ; seulement, il n'envoya pas son fils, comme il avait été stipulé. Il prétendit que ce dernier s'y était refusé, et, dans son discours, il blessa les convenances. Le souverain de l'Inde fit marcher au secours du fils de son frère, Ibráhîm Khân, des troupes dont le commandant était Doldji altatiry (دلجي التري). Elles com-

battirent Ghiyâth eddîn et le tuèrent ; elles le dépouillèrent de sa peau, qu'on rembourra de paille, et qu'on promena ensuite dans les provinces."—Vol. iii. p. 316.

rv. Bahádur Sháh.

No. 7.

Lakhnaúti, A.H. 710?, 711, 712, 7-3, 7-4,¹ break, 720, 721, 722.

Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs.; one example is as high as 167.5 grs. Rare.

OBY.

REV.

السلطان الاعظم
غياث الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر بهادر شاه
السلطان بن سلطان

الامام
المستعصم
امير المؤمنين

Margin, ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت لکھنوتی سنۂ احد عشر وسبعماية

No. 8.

Second Mint, Ghíáspúr. Date, 730.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 and 164.5 grs. Very rare.
Two coins. Col. Guthrie. Plate I., fig. 5.

Margin, * هذه السكة قصبه غياثپور سنۂ ثلاثين *

rv. Bahádur Sháh,

as Vassal under Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No. 9.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 728.

Silver. Weight, 140 grs. Unique. *Dehli Archaeological Society.*

Obverse, السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر بهادر شاه
السلطان ابن السلطان

Reverse, Area, ضرب بامرالوائق بالله محمد بن تغلق شاه

Margin, هذه السكة بحضرة سناركانو سنۂ ثمان وعشرين وسبعماية

¹ The dates 7-3, 7-4, may perchance be obliterated records of 723 and 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.

Muhammad bin Tughlak Sháh, Emperor of Hindustán,
(in his own name) after the re-conquest of Bengal.

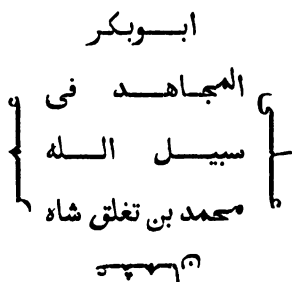
No. 10.

Lakhnauti, A.H. 733.

Silver. Small coins. Size, v. to $v\frac{1}{4}$. Weight of well-preserved coins, 168.5 grs. Five specimens, *Col. Guthrie*. Plate I., fig. 6.

OBV.

REV.



لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

Reverse, Margin,

ضرب هذه الفضة بشهر لکهنوتي سنه ثلاث وثلثين وسبعماية

If the place of mintage of these imperial coins had been illegible, I should almost have been prepared, on the strength of the peculiarity of the forms of the letters, to have assigned their execution to a Bengal artist. The original model for the type of coinage may be seen in fig. 90, page 54, Pathán Sultáns. The late Mr. G. Free-ling, of the Bengal C.S., has left on record his acquisition of a gold piece of the same design (from the Dehli Mint) dated A.H. 725.

V.—FAKHR-UD-DYN. MUBÁRAK SHAH.

On the departure of Muhammad bin Tughlak from Bengal, Tátár Khán, honorarily entitled Bahrám Khán, an adopted son of Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak, seems to have been left in charge of the provinces included in the government of Sonárgaon, while the Lakhnauti division of the kingdom of Bengal was entrusted to Kadr Khán. On the death of Bahrám Khán,¹ which is stated to have taken place in 739—but may probably have to be antedated to 737—Fakhr-ud-dín Mubáarak, his *Siláhdár*, took possession of the government, and proclaimed his independence. He was in the first instance defeated by

¹ Nízám-ud-dín Ahmad says, Mubáarak killed Bahrám Khán; while Abul Fázl affirms that Mubáarak put Kadr Khán to death.—*Ayín-i-Akbari*, ii. 21.

the troops sent against him from Lakhnauti, but finally succeeded in maintaining his authority, and, as the coins prove, in retaining his hold on Sonárgaon and its dependencies throughout the nine years, from 741 to 750 A.H., comparatively undisturbed. The history of the period is confused, and the dates given by the native authors prove of little value;¹ but the coins establish the fact that in 751 another ruler, designated *Ikhtár-ud-din* Ghází Sháh, presided over the Mints of Eastern Bengal.

v. *Fakhr-ud-din*. Mubárák Sháh.

No. 11.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 737, — 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750.

Silver. Size, vi. to vi $\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 166.0 grs. Unique.

Plate I., fig. 7.

OBV.	REV.
السلطان الاعظم	يمين خليفة الله
فخر الدنيا والدين	ناصر امير
ابو المظفر مباركشاه	المومنين
السلطان	

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة جلال سناركانو سنة سبع وثلاثين وسبعماية

The above specimen is unique in date, and varies in the opening legend of the reverse from the less rare coins of later years, which commence with *يمين الخليفة*²

VI.—'ALÁ-UD-DÍN. 'ALÍ SHÁH.

'Alí Sháh, whom Muhammadan writers, by a strange jumble, have endowed with the surname of his adversary Mubárák, and ordinarily refer to as "'Ali Mubárák,"³ assumed kingship on the death of Qadr Khán, Muhammad Tughlak's representative at Lakhnauti, entitling himself 'Alá-ud-dín. The

¹ Ferishta, Briggs, i. pp. 412-423; iv. 328. Stewart, pp. 80-83.

² See also an engraving of his coin (dated 750) Pathán Sultán, fig. 151 and page 82.

³ Budauni MS. Ferishta, iv. 329. Stewart, p. 82. Ayin-i-Akbari, ii. 21.

more important incidents of his reign are confined to his hostilities with his rival, Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak of Sonárgaon, who possessed advantages in his maritime resources, while the rivers remained navigable for large vessels during the rainy season, but which were more than counterbalanced by Alí Sháh's power on land, which availed him for the greater part of the year, and which finally enabled him to establish his undisputed rule in the Western provinces.

His coins exhibit dates ranging from 742 to 746 A.H., and bear the impress of the new mint of the metropolis, Fírúzábád, an evidence of a change in the royal residence, which clearly implies something more than a mere removal to a new site proximate to the old Lakhnauti, whose name is henceforth lost sight of, and may be taken to indicate a strategetic transfer of the court to the safer and less exposed locality of the future capital, Pandua.¹ 'Alí Sháh is stated to have been assassinated by his foster brother, Hájí Ilías.²

'*Alá-ud-dín.* 'Alí Sháh.

No. 12.

Fírúzábád, 742, 744, 745, 746

Silver. Size, vi $\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 166.7 grs. Rare. Plate I. fig. 8.
Type as usual.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	سكندر الزمان
علاء الدنيا والدين	المختص
ابو المظفر عليشاه	بعنايت الرحمن ناصر
السلطان	امير المؤمنين

Margin,

ضرب هذا الفضة السكة في البادة فيروزاباد سنة اثني اربعين وسبعماية

¹ Stewart, speaking of Fírúz's advance against Ilías, says, "the Emperor advanced to a place now called Ferozeporeabad, where he pitched his camp and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua," p. 84. There is a *Mahal* Fírúzpúr in *Sircar* Tandah, noticed in the *Ayín-i-Akbari*, ii. p. 2. See also the note from Shams-i-Siráj, quoted below (p. 61), under the notice of Ilías Sháh's reign.

² Stewart, p. 83.

VII.—IKHTIAR-UD-DYN. GHÁZÍ SHÁH.

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of Sonárgaon in A.H. 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárák still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr-ud-dín and his execution by 'Alí Mubárák in 743 A.H., with the final accession of Ilías "one year and five months afterwards."¹

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubárák was succeeded by his own son, as the *Ul Sultán bin Ul Sultán* may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right-hand of the Khalifat on the reverse, alike connect the two princes; while the cessation of the issues of Ghází Sháh simultaneously with the acquisition of Sonárgaon by Ilías, in A.H. 753, would seem to point to the gradual spread of the power of the latter, which is stated to have been at its zenith just before Fírúz III. assailed him in his newly consolidated monarchy in 754.²

¹ Stewart, p. 83.

² Shams-i-Siráj, speaking on hearsay, affirms that Shams-ud-dín Ilías captured and slew Fakhr-ud-dín after Fírúz III.'s first expedition into Bengal; and that the main object of the latter's second invasion of that province was for the purpose of reasserting the rights of Zafar Khán, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-dín (who had fled for protection to Dehli), to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal. It is asserted that although Fírúz succeeded in obtaining this concession from Sikandar, who, in the interval, had succeeded to his father's throne, Zafar Khán himself was wise enough to decline the dangerous proximity to so powerful a rival monarch, and to return in the suite of the Sultán. The Bengálí troops, under Zafar Khán, subsequently distinguished themselves in an opposite quarter of India, near Tattah, and their commander was eventually left in charge of Guzrát.—Shams-i-Siráj, book ii. cap. 9, etc.—See also Journal Archæological Society of Dehli (Major Lewis' abstract translation), 1849, p. 15.

The Táríkh-i-Mubárák Sháhi (dedicated to Mubárák II.), the concluding date of which is 838 A.H., also declares that Háji Ilías killed Fakhr-ud-dín in 741 A.H.; This last date is a manifest error; as is also, probably, the omission, by both authors, of the words *son of* before the name of Fakhr-ud-dín.

Ikhtidár-ud-dín. Ghází Sháh.

No. 13.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 751-753.

Silver. Size, vi. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare indeed. Three coins, *Col. Guthrie*. Plate I. fig. 9.

Obv.

Rev.

السلطان الاعظم
اختيار الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر غازي شاه
السلطان بن السلطان

يمين الخليفة
ناصر امير
المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة جلال سناركانوسنه احدى وخمسين وسبعماية

VIII.—SHAMS-UD-DYN. ILIÁS SHAH.

The modern application of old coins divides itself into two branches—the suggestive development of obscure tradition and the enlargement and critical revision of accepted history. The transition point between these archaeological functions, in the present series, declares itself in the accession of Iliás Sháh, the first recognised and effectively independent Moslem Sultán of Bengal, the annals of whose reign have been so often imperfectly reproduced in prefatory introduction to the relation of the magnificent future his successors were destined to achieve as holders of the interests and the commercial prosperity of the Delta of the Ganges, to whose heritage, indeed, England owes its effective ownership of the continent of India at the present day.

The compiler of the English version of the early history of Bengal¹ adopts the conclusion that Hájí Iliás first obtained power on the assassination of "Ali Mubárak" in 745-6, but the previous rectification of the independent personality and status of the two individuals thus singularly absorbed into one, will prepare the reader for the corrections involved, though not,

¹ Stewart, p. 83.

perhaps, for the apparent anomalies the coins disclose. Medallion testimony would seem to indicate a long waging of hostile interests between the real 'Alí Sháh and Hájí Ilías, before the latter attained his final local triumph; for although Ilías is seen to have coined money in Fírúzábád in 740 A.H., the chance seems to have been denied him in 741; and in 742 his adversary, 'Alí Sháh, is found in full possession of the mint in question. The Kooch Bahár hoard reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Alí Sháh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs; suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Fírúz III. to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental suzerain—resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country¹—which effectively laid

¹ Stewart felt a difficulty about the right position of *Akdallah*, the real point of attack, and a place of considerable importance in the local history of Bengal. The following is Zíá-i-Barni's description of the place, taken from the concluding chapters of his history on the occasion of Fírúz Sháh's (III.) invasion of Bengal in 754 A.H.:—

واكداله نام موضعي است نزديك پندوه كه يك طرف ان آب
است و طرف دوم جنگل است دران اكداله تحصيل كرت واز پندوه

مردم كارامده را با زن و بچه در اكداله یرد. P. 588, printed edit.

Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca. "Map of Hindoostan."

In the following passage Shams-i-Siráj desires to make it appear that Fírúz III. gave his *own* name to the city of Pandua; but, as we have seen that the designation was applied to the new capital either in 740 or 742—that is, long before Fírúz became king of Dehli, it will be preferable to conclude that the name was originally bestowed in honour of the Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal, of the present series. The quotation is otherwise of value, as it establishes, beyond a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis:—

فیروز شاه) در پندوه رسید در آن مقام خطبه بنام حضرت فیروز
شاه خواندند و نام شهر فیروز آباد نهادند چون سلطان فیروز شاه
اكداله را آزاد پور نام كرت و شهر پندوه را فیروز آباد * * * * (hence)
آزاد پور عرف اكداله و فیروز آباد عرف پندوه

From the original MS. in the possession of Zíá-ud-dín Khán of Lohárú.

the foundation of the ultimate independence of Bengal. A monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shīr Shāh, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and to eject from Hindustān the Moghuls who too hastily boasted of an easily-achieved conquest of the country "from Bhīra to Bahār."

Shams-ud-dīn. Ḥās Shāh.

No. 14.

Fīrūzābād, A.H. 740, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, selected specimens, 168.0 grs.; ordinary weights, 166.0 grs.

Type No. 1. The old Dehli pattern.

Obverse, Square area.

Reverse, Square area, within a circle.

Obv.

Rev.

السلطان الغازي
شمس الدنیا والدين
ابو المظفر الياس
شاه السلطان

سكندر الثاني
يمين الخلافة ناصر
امير المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه الفضة السكة في البلد فيروزآباد سنة اربع وخمسين وسبعماية

Type No. 1. Variety A. Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 grs.

Obverse, Lettered surface.

Reverse, Small circle, area.

No. 15.

Fīrūzābād, A.H. 758.

Type No. 2. Broad coin. Size, ix. Weight of the best and selected specimens, 166.0 grs. only.

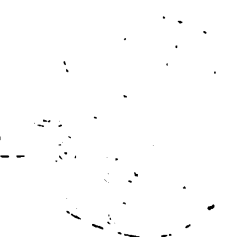
Obverse, Plain lettered surface.

Reverse, Circular area, with narrow margin.

Legends, both obverse and reverse as in No. 1 type.

Marginal legend,

ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة فيروزآباد سنة ثمان وخمسين وسبعماية



the foundation of the return to independence of Bengal. A currency which was destined so to grow in power and utility would be both competent, indubitably, in the person of Shih Shah, to take over for the old Muhammadan Empire the "protection" of the north and to eject from Hindustan the "intruders" who too easily became of an easily-achieved "empire" of the country "from Delhi to Balār."

Obverse—The Shah.

No. 14.

Engraved, a n. 740, 741, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

Spec. Size, vii. Weight, selected specimens, 168.0 grs., original weights, 160.0 grs.

Type No. 1. The old Delhi pattern.

Obverse, Square area

Reverse, Square area, within a circle.

Obv.

Rev.

السلطان شاه
شمس الدين محمد
ابو القاسم
شاه "السلطان"

سكندر الثاني
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
نور الدين محمد

Margin,

مرکز مداخلتہ السکہ فی البید فیروز آباد ستہ اربع وخمیس وسعمایہ

Type No. 1. Variety A. Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 160 grs.

Obverse, Lettered surface.

Reverse, Small circle, a n.

No. 15.

Engraved, a n. 758.

Type No. 1. Silver. Size, ix. Weight of the best selected specimens, 164.9 grs. only.

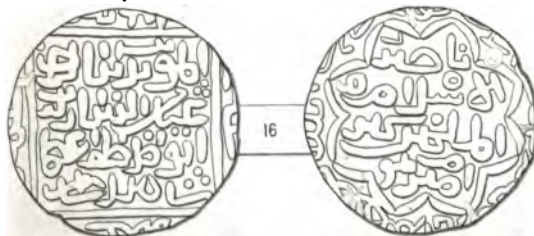
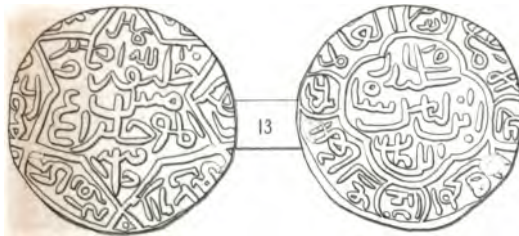
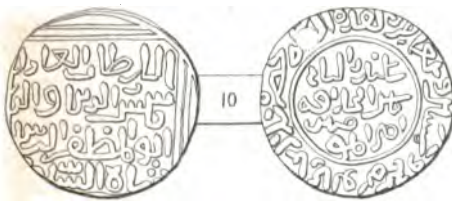
Obverse, Plain lettered surface.

Reverse, Circular area, with new or old legend.

Legend, both of verse and reverse as in No. 1 type.

Old legend.

مرکز مداخلتہ فیروز آباد ستہ اربع وخمیس وسعمایہ



The Kooch Bahár trove must have been rich in this type of coin, and of the particular year A.H. 758, as out of 109 specimens in Col. Guthrie's collection, there is no single example of any other date.

No. 16.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

Type No. 3. Size, vii. Present weight, 166 grs. after the obvious reduction by boring out. Plate II., fig. 10.

Obverse, Square area.

Reverse, Circular area, with broad margin.

OBV.

REV.

السلطان العادل	سكندر الثاني
شمس الدنيا والدين	يمين الخلافة
ابو المظفر الياس	امير المومنين
شاه السلطان	

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سناركانوسنة خمس وخمسين وسبعماية

IX.—SIKANDAR BIN ILKAS.

This king—the second only in the still-incomplete assertion of local independence of allegiance to the throne of Dehli—exhibits in the material wealth of his national coinage the striking progress incident to comparative freedom and identity of home interests, which may be achieved, almost on the instant, by the denizens of a commercial centre so favoured by nature as the Delta of the Ganges.

Tried by such a test, few statistical returns could present more effectively the contrast disclosed in the Kooch Bahár treasure between the accumulated produce of the Bengal Mints, representing a century and a quarter's limited activity, attended with all the advantages of a diffused circulation, but under a subordinate government, as compared with the overwhelming array of coins bearing the impress of a single unfettered monarch, whose money was, in effect, new from the dies. To numismatists the enhanced proportion will

be more significantly shown by a reference to the additional number of Mint-cities, the singular variety of new types produced, and above all, by the sustained series and corroborating repetitions of annual dates. It is under the latter aspect alone that I have now to comment on the history of a reign already sufficiently told in other pages. Sikandar Sháh placidly succeeded his father towards the end of 759 A.H., and the coins of the period sufficiently support the date of such a transfer of power, in the final 758 recorded on the issues of the father, though proof of the accession of the son is less marked, as the seeming anomaly obtained—under the conjoint efforts of father and son to achieve release from thralldom to a distant suzerain—of a concession to the son of much independent power, and, coincidentally, the right to coin money in his own name, whether in his own camps or in his father's royal cities. Though some of the earlier designed coins give evidence of due humility in titular phraseology, the same simplicity is adhered to, in continuous mintages, long after the removal of any possible impediments or restrictions to the adoption of comparatively exalted titles; though in the more independent governmental mintages of 758 A.H. (No. 21) the *السلطان المعظم* is affected even during the life-time of the father, and, after his own accession, higher assumptions, and a more definite approach towards personal hierarchical honors, are discovered in the metropolitan issues of 766-780 (No. 22), while special service against the infidels seems to be implied in the novel intitulation of *القاهر الاعداء الله*, "The conqueror of the enemies of God," on the Fírúzábád money of 769 A.H. (No. 23).

But the most interesting details furnished by Sikandar's coins are those which illustrate the geographical distribution of the chief seats of government. Unlike the Northern Moslems, who, in the difficulty of moving the Eastern hosts—conventionally deemed essential to an Imperial progress—over the imperfect highways of Hindustán, confined themselves ordinarily to one fixed metropolis, the kings of Bengal enjoyed facilities of river communication almost un-

precedented : their various capitals, situated within easy distance of one another, were at all times accessible by water,—a differently constructed State barge secured at any season free approach to the seaboard cities of the Great Ganges or the towns on the narrow channels of the western streams. These frequent regal visitations are incidentally recorded on the coinage of the day, by the insertion of the prefix of حضرت to the name of the selected residence, which term colloquially marked the presence of royalty within the limits of the favoured fiscal division.

Sikandar's mint cities were five in number—No. 2, *Firúz-ábád*; 3, *Satgaon*; and 4, *Shahr Nau*, in Western Bengal; with 5, *Sonárgaon*; and 6, *Muázamábád*, in the Eastern division of the province.

2. The first-named mint, in addition to the preferential *Hazrat*,¹ is styled variously *Baldat* and بلدة المحروسة “fortified city,” a specification which probably refers to the separate though closely proximate citadel of *Akdálah*, so celebrated in the military annals of the time (coin No. 26).

3. *Satgaon* is distinguished by the prefix of عَرَصَة (Atrium) a term which, in India, came to be conventionally used for a tract or geographical division of country,² a sense which would well accord with its application to *Satgaon*, as the third circle of government of Bengal proper.³ In the subsequent reign of *Aázam* the mint specification is more directly brought into

¹ خَضْرَة “Præsentia, Majestas; urbs, in qua est regis sedes.”

² عَرَصَة زَمِين in Persian, means “surface of the earth.” Sir Henry Elliot remarks, “The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *Pergumnah* were اقطاع, ولايت, ديار, عرصه, خطه, سق —Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, “Circár.”

³ *Zifá-i-Barni*, in introducing his narrative of Tughlak Sháh's expedition to Bengal (A.H. 724), speaks of that province as consisting of the three divisions of “*Lakhnauti*, *Sunárgaon*, and *Satgaon*” (p. 450, printed edit.).

The *Ayfn-i-Akbari*, in the xvi. cent. A.D., thus refers to *Satgaon*, “There are two emporiums a mile distant from each other; one called *Satgaon*, and the other *Hoogly* with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans.”—Gladwin, ii. p. 16. See also Rennell, p. 57. *Stewart's Bengal*, pp. 186, 240, 243, 330.

association with the town itself in the seemingly more definite localization involved in the word *قَصَبَة*¹

4. *Shahr Nau*, I suppose to have been the intitulation of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnauti:² it is variously denominated as the simple 'Arsat or *عَرَصَة المَعْمُورَة* (populous, richly cultivated).³ This progressively less appropriate name may be supposed to have merged into the official Jannatábád, which follows in Mint sequence.

4. *Sonárgaon*, as a rule, retains its ancient discriminative designation of *حَضْرَة جَلال*, a title which it eventually had to cede to its rival Muázamábád.

6. *Muázamábád*. There is no definite authority for the determination of the site of this city; which, however, seems to have been founded by Sikandar about 758-759 A.H.,

¹ From *قَصَب* "amputavit:" hence *قَصَبَة* "oppidum, vel potior, præcipua pars oppidorum."

² The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Col. Yule reminds me) determines for mediæval geography the contested site of Nicolò Conti's *Cernove*. The Venetian traveller in the East in the early part of the fifteenth century is recorded to have said that "he entered the mouth of the river Ganges, and, sailing up it, at the end of fifteen days he came to a large and wealthy city called Cernove. . . . On both banks of the stream there are most charming villas and plantations and gardens. . . . Having departed hence he sailed up the river Ganges for the space of three months, leaving behind him four very famous cities, and landed at an extremely powerful city called Maarazia . . . having spent thirteen days 'on an expedition to some mountains to the eastward, in search of carbuncles' . . . he returned to the city of Cernove, and thence proceeded to Buffetania."—The travels of Nicolò Conti, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 10, 11.

See also Purchas, vol. v. p. 508; and Murray's Travels in Asia, ii. 11.

There are also many interesting details regarding the geography of Bengal, and a very full and lucid summary of the history of the period, to be found in "Da Asia de João de Barros" (Lisboa, 1777, vol. iv. [viii.], p. 465 *et seq.*). At the period of the treaty of Alfonso de Mello with, "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" (the king whom Shir Sháh eventually overcame) the name of Shahr Nau had merged into the old provincial designation of *Gaur*, which is described as "a principal Cidade deste Reino he chamada *Gouro*, situada nas correntes do Gange, e dizem ter de comprido tres leguas das nossas, e duzentos mil vizinhos" (p. 458). Satigam makes a prominent figure on the map, and Sornagam is located on a large island within the Delta, the main stream dividing it from Dacca, which is placed on the opposite or left bank of the estuary.

More modern accounts of the old city may be found in Purchas, i. 579; Churchill, viii. 54; also Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, London, 1788, p. 55; Stewart, p. 44, and in a special work entitled "The Ruins of Gour," illustrated with maps, plans, and engravings of the numerous Muhammadan edifices extant in 1817, by H. Creighton, 4to., London, Black, Parbury and Allen. See also Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, Gour Brahmin.

³ The adjective (derived from *عَمَرَ*, Coluit) will admit of other meanings, and, if understood as applying to a town, might signify "well-built," locally *Pakhd*.

when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of المعظم, without trenching upon the superlative الأعظم usually reserved for the reigning monarch. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the إقليم معظم آباد (No. 19) of 760 A.H., to the بلدة المعظم معظم آباد, "the great city of Muázam-ábád" (No. 28) of about 780 A.H., till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial حصرة جلال of Eastern Bengal (No. 32 A.)

With a view to keep these brief geographical notices under one heading, I advert for the moment to No. 7, *Ghátspúr*, of which locality I have been able to discover no trace; and likewise anticipate the due order of the examination of Aázam Sháh's mint cities in referring to the sole remaining name of *Jannatábád*, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyún to the re-edified Lakhnauti,¹ but which is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the Moghuls made their way into Bengal.

The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to Aázam's mints is the substitution of the word قسبة in lieu of بلدة² as the prefix to Fírúzábád (No. 35), in parallel progress towards centralization with the Mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon.

Sikandar Sháh bin Iltás Sháh.

No. 17.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 758, 759, 760.

Type No. 1. Ordinary simple obverse, with reverse circular area and margin.

¹ Ayin-i-Akbari, ii. p. 11; Stewart's Bengal, 124. Bengal itself was called جنة البلاد, "The Paradise of Regions." Ibn Batutah, iv. p. 210, says the Persians called Bengal نعمة بور, "ce qui signifie," en arabe, "un enfer rempli de biens." Marsden, Num. Orient. p. 578, gives a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Sháh, of A.H. 917, purporting to have been struck at "*Jannatabád*."

² بلد "regio;" also "oppidum." The plurals are said to vary, in correspondence with the independent meanings, as بلاك and بلدان.

OBY.

سكندر شاه

ابن الياس شاه

السلطان

REV.

المجاهد

في سبيل

الرحمن

Margin,

ضرب هذه الفضة السكه في البلده فيروز اباد سنه ثلاث وخمسين وسبعمايه

No. 18.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 756, 757, 759, 760, 763.

Type No. 2. The usual lettered obverse with circular area and margin reverse.

OBY.

المجاهد في

سبيل الرحمن

سكندر شاه ابن الياس

شاه السلطان

REV.

يمين خليفه

الله ناصر امير

المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سنارگانوسنه ستين وسبعمايه

No. 19.

Muāzamābād, A.H. 760, 761, 763, 764. Plate II. fig. 12.

Variety A.

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه اقليم معظم اباد سنه احدى وستين وسبعمايه

No. 20.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 764.

Variety B.

Nb. 21.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 758, 759.

Type No. 3. As usual.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان المعظم	يمين خليفه
سكندر شاه	الله ناصر امير
ابن الياس شاه	المومنين
السلطان	

Margin as usual.

No. 22.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 765, 766, 770, 771, 772, 773, 776, 779, 780.

Type No. 4. Coarse coins, badly formed letters. *Obverse*, simple lettered surface. *Reverse*, circular area.

Obv.	Rev.
الامام	يمين خليفه
الاعظم ابو	الله ناصر امير
المجاهد سكندر	المومنين
شاه ابن الياس	خلد الله خلافة
شاه السلطان	

Margin, هذه السكه بحضرت فيروز اباد سنه سبعين وسبعماية

No. 23.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 769.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare. Plate II. fig. 11.

Type No. 5. Similar design to type 1.

OBV.	REV.
ابو المجاهد	الناصر
سكندر شاه	لدين الله
السّلطان ابن	القاهر
السّلطان	لاعدا الله ¹

Margin,

ضرب هذ الفضة السكه في البلده فيروزاباد سنه تسع وستين و * *

No. 24.

Satgaon, A.H. 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 788. Plate II. fig. 13.

Type No. 6. *Obverse*, a quadrated scalloped shield, with open bosses on the margin containing the names of the "four friends," the intermediate spaces being filled in partially with the king's titles.

Reverse, hexagonal star-shaped lozenge, with exterior marginal legend.

OBV.	REV.
سكندر شاه	يمين
ابن الياس شاه	خليفه الله ناصر امير
السّلطان	المومنين خلد الله
	خلافة

Obverse Margin,

الامام العالم العادل ابو المجاهد — ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

Reverse Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في عرصه ستكانو سنه احد وثمانين وسبعمايه

¹ The pattern legend of this mint-die seems to have been taken from oral data, as it is engraved as الله القاهر لاعدا الله instead of the more critical الله

القاهر. The increased facilities of intercourse by sea probably aided the colloquial knowledge of Arabic in the estuaries of Bengal; while the learned of Dehli had to rely more upon books and occasional teachers. Ibn Batutah tells us, that Muhammad bin Tughlak, though pretending to speak Arabic, did not distinguish himself in the act, while *Hajj* Ilfās must himself have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

No. 25.

Shahr Nau, A.H. 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786. Plate II. fig. 14.

Type No. 7. *Obverse*, a simple octagon, with four circlets in the margin containing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the rest of the exergue being filled in with the king's own titles.

Reverse, a diamond-shaped area with the crossed lines prolonged to the edge of the piece; the lines are slightly scalloped outwards to form an ornamental field.

OBY.

REV.

سكندر شاه

يمين خليفه

ابن الياس شاه

الله ناصر امير المؤمنين

السلطان

خلد خلافة

Obverse Margin,

الوثن بتايد الرحمن ابو المجاهد ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

Reverse Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركة في عرصه شهرنو سنه اثني وثمانين وسبعمايه

The name of the mint is imperfectly expressed on even the best specimens, and great latitude has been permitted in the omission or insertion of entire words in the reverse marginal legend.

Variety A. differs merely in the pattern of the reverse area, which is ornamented with double instead of single scallops.

No. 26.

Firúzábád, A.H. 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792.

Type No. 8. *Obverse*, circular area, with a broad margin divided by circlets enclosing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the intermediate spaces being filled in with their titles.

Reverse, octagonal rose scalloped lozenge, with narrow margin.

Obverse,

الوثن بتايد الرحمن ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان

Margin,

ابوبكر الاعظم عمر ابوالخليفه عثمان المعظم علي الامام

Reverse,
 بمين الخليفة ناصر امير المؤمنين¹ عون الاسلام والمسلمين خلد خلافته
Margin,
 ضرب هذه السكة المباركة في بلدة المحروسة فيروز اباد سنة ثمانين وسبعماية

No. 27.

Satgaon, A.H. 780.

Variety A. *Reverse Margin,*
 etc. ضرب هذه السكة المباركة في عرصة المعمورة ستكانو

No. 28.

Muāzamābād (the great city), A.H. ?

Variety B. *Mint,* بلدة المعظم معظم اباد

No. 29.

Shahr Nau, A.H. 781.

Variety C. *Mint,* عرصة المعمورة شهرنو سنة احدى ثمانين

No. 30.

Col. Guthrie has a gold piece of type No. 8, size vii. and a half, weighing 158 grains. The coin is inferior in execution to the ordinary silver money. The letters are badly formed, and the marginal legend is altogether obliterated.²

No. 31.

Fīrūzābād, A.H. 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787.

Type No. 9. *Obverse,* circular area, with a broad margin, broken by small shields containing the names of the four companions of the

¹ M. Reinaud interpreted the word as *عون*, *Defensor* (Journal Asiatique, 1823, p. 272), in which he is followed by Marsden (ii. p. 567). Sayud Ahmad again, in his transcript of 'Alā-ud-dīn's Inscription of 710 A.H., reproduces the title as *غوث الاسلام والمسلمين*, which, in effect, carries a nearly identical meaning (Asār-ul-sunnādīd, p. 53).

² The only other Bengal gold coins I am at present able to refer to are a well-preserved piece of *Jālal-ud-dīn* Fatah Shāh bin Mahmūd (dated A.H. 890), now in the possession of Colonel Guthrie, weighing 161.4 grains, and a coin in the B. M. assigned to 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain (A.H. 905-927) which weighs 169.5 grains.

Prophet; the intermediate spaces are filled in with titles which occasionally pertain to the king, but at times exclusively belong to the Imáms.¹

Reverse, hexagonal field; narrow margin.

OBV.	REV.
ابو المجاهد	يمين خليفه
سكندر شاه ابن الياس	الله ناصر امير المؤمنين
شاه السلطان	عون السلام والمسلم
	خلد ملك

Obverse Margin,

الامام (ابوبكر) الاعظم (عمر) الوائي (عثمان) بتايد الرحمن (علي)

Reverse Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في بلدة فيروز اباد سنه ست وثمانين وسبعماية

X.—A'AZAM SHAH.

The accession of Ghíás-ud-dín Aâzam Sháh was disgraced by rebellion against his own father and coincident open war, in the course of which Sikandar fell in a general action between his own and his son's troops. Native historians are more than ordinarily obscure in the narration of these incidents, and the dates relied upon are singularly untrustworthy when brought to the test of numismatic facts. Aâzam's initial revolt is admitted to have gained force chiefly in Eastern Bengal, where his coinage substantially proves his administrative supremacy, whether as nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority, dating from 772 A.H.,—an increase of power seems to be associated with the mint record of a hold over Satgaon in 790 A.H., and a real or pretended occupancy of a portion of the territory of Pandua in

¹ الوائي in many instances is replaced by ابو الخليفه while المعظم follows the name of عثمان.

791, though the final eclipse of the royal titles of the father is delayed till 792 A.H.¹

Ghiás-ud-dín Aâzam Sháh, *bin Sikandar Sháh.*

No. 32.

Muâzamábád, A.H. 772, 775, 776.

Silver. Size, viii½. Weight, 166 grs. Plate II. fig. 16.

Type No. 1. *Obverse*, square area occupying nearly the whole surface of the coin, as in the old Dehli pattern.

Reverse, scalloped lozenge, forming an eight-pointed but contracted star.

Obv.	Rev.
الموید بتائید الرحمن	ناصر السلام و
غیاث الدنیا والدین	المسلمین کین
ابو المظفر اعظم شاه	امیر المومنین
السلطان	

Obverse Margin: On the upper edge, ابوبکر; on the left, عمر; in consecutive reading at the foot, عثمان; and on the right, علی

Reverse Margin,

هذه السكة المباركة في بلدة معظماباد سنة ثمان وسبعين وسبعماية

Variety A. In one instance بحضرت جلال supplies the place of في بلدة.

There is a doubt about the reading of the word كین "being humble;" the عین "Oculus" of Marsden would certainly be preferable in point of sense, but the forms of the letters of the word scarcely justify such a rendering, unless we admit of an unusual degree of even Bengálí imperfection in the fashioning these dies.

On two examples of this mintage in silver, the marginal legend bears the words هذه الدينار in clearly cut letters; but I imagine this seeming anomaly to have arisen from a fortuitous use of the dies for gold coins, which, in device, were identical with those employed for the silver money.

¹ Stewart supposes that Sikandar met his death in 789 A.H. (p. 89); and an even more patent error places the decease of Aâzam in 775 A.H. (p. 93). The Tabakát-i-Akbari, which devotes a special section to the history of Bengal, implies an amiable and undisturbed succession in this instance.

No. 33.

Jannatábád, A.H. 790.

Variety A. Similar obverse with circular reverse.

Mint, جنتاباد سنة تسعين و

REV.

OBV.



No. 34.

Type No. 2. There is a subordinate class of coins, following the devices of Type No. 1 (in size vii. and upwards), struck from less expanded dies, and generally of very inferior execution in the outlining of the letters. These are also from the mint of Muḏ-zamábád, and are dated in bungled and almost illegible words—سبعوسبعماية، ثمانوسعو، ثمانما، احدو ثمانما, which may be designed to stand for 770 odd, 778, 780, and 781 respectively.

No. 35.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799.

Type No. 3. Size, viii. to viii½. Weight, 166 grs. Plate II. fig. 15.

Obverse, scalloped diamond field; broad margin.*Reverse*, circular area.

OBV.

REV.

غياث الدنيا

ناصر امير

والدين ابو المظفر

المومنين عون السلام

اعظم شاه

و المسلمين

السلطان

خلد ملكه

Obverse Margin, السلطان الاعظم المريد بتايد الملك الرحمن*Reverse* Margin,

هذه السكة بقصة فيروزاباد سنة ثلاث وتسعين وسبعماية

The Reverse marginal records vary in the prefix to the name of the mint from the Kasbah above given, *في حصرة المباركة* and *في حصرة* being occasionally used.

No. 36.

Satgaon, A.H. 795, 798.

Variety A.

No. 37.

Satgaon, A.H. 790, 795, 796.

Type No. 4. *Obverse*, area, a square, with a looped semicircle at each of the sides, forming a kind of amalgamation of the margin with the central device.

Reverse, area, a four-pointed star-shaped lozenge; the outside spaces being filled in with the marginal legend.

OBV.

REV.

ابوبكر
الموید بتائید الرحمن
غیاث الدین والدین
ابو المظفر اعظم
شاء السلطان

ناصر الاسلام و
المسلمین کین
امیر المومنین

Reverse Margin,

ضرب هذا السكه * * في عرصه ستكانو سنه تسعين وسبعمايه

No. 38.

Type No. 5. Size, v. Weight, 166 grains.

Obverse, lettered surface.

Reverse, circular area; narrow margin.

OBV.

REV.

غیاث الدین
والدین ابو المظفر
اعظم شاه
السلطان

ابد الله
خلد الله دولته
ملكه

Margin ?

معظماباد سنه احد *

The singular orthography adopted in the rendering of the term *Abdallah*, and the substitution of an initial *alif* in lieu of the grammatical *ain*, affords another instance of the ignorance of the local mint officials, and their tendency to reproduce the approximate *sounds* of words, without regard to the true powers of the letters employed.

A vacant space in the final setting up of this article invites me to extend it so far as to notice a limited series of coins which have hitherto been erroneously associated with the mintages of Bengal proper,—I allude to the money of Táj-ud-dín Fírúz, whose date has, in like manner, been misapprehended by Marsden (p. 575), and by Mr. Laidlay, who follows his interpretation (J.A.S.B. xv. p. 330). The subjoined examples will show that the supposed date of 897 A.H. should be 807; and the consecutive numbers on the different coins now cited establish the fact that the potentate whose name they bear reigned at least from 804 to 823, having a capital entitled *Hájábád*, which may, with sufficient reason, be identified with the *Hájpúr* of modern nomenclature. The introductory piece A. seems to have been issued by Táj-ud-dín's predecessor, and their several mintages alike depart from the ordinary style of Bengal coinages in the phraseology and finished execution of the Arabic legends, as well as in the weights of their currencies, which approximate closely to the full Dehli standard, in contrast to the reduced southern range of 166 grains.

A. Silver. Size, $v\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 165 grs. Unique. A.H. 797.

OBV.

الناصر لدين
لدين الحامى
الاهل الايمان

REV.

الوائق بتايد
الرحمن ابو المظفر
محمد شاه السلطان

B. Silver. Size from vi $\frac{1}{2}$ to viii $\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 168 grs., the full and sustained weight of several specimens. •

Obv.	Rev.
سُلْطَان	تَاج الدنیا
العَہد و الزمان	والدین فیروز
الوائی بتائید الرحمن	شاہ السُلْطَان
ابو المظفر	۸۰۴

Obverse, lettered surface.

Reverse, square area, with imperfect marginal records, usually consisting of ضرب بحضرت حاجیاباد with the figured dates *at the foot*, ranging onwards from 804 to 807 [Marsden], 810, 813, 814, 818, 819, 820, 822, and 823 A.H.

These coins are chiefly from the collection of the late Sir R. Jenkins, but have now passed into Colonel Guthrie's possession.

Among other rare and unpublished coins, having more or less connexion with the progress of events in Bengal, I may call attention to the subjoined piece of Shír Sháh (C.), which seems to mark his final triumph over Humáyún in 946 A.H. and his own assumption of imperial honours in Hindustán. The gold coin (D.) is of interest, as exhibiting the model from whence Akbar derived one of his types of money, which Oriental authors would have us believe were altogether of his special origination, even as they attribute so many of Shír Sháh's other admirable fiscal and revenue organizations to his Moghul successor. In coin E. we follow the spread of Shír Sháh's power northwards to the ancient capital of the Patháns, and the piece F. illustrates the retention of the family sway over the other extreme of the old dominion.

C. Silver. Size, vi $\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 163 grs. A.H. 946. Well executed Western characters.

Obverse, السلطان العادل المويد بتأييد الرحمن فريد الدنيا والدين

Reverse, ٩٤٦ ابو المظفر شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

-

D. Gold. Square coin. Weight, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Unique. (R. J. Brassey, Esq.).

Obverse, the Kalimah.

Reverse, شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

At the foot, श्री सेर सहि.

E. Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Dehli. A.H. 948.

Obverse, Square area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, the names and titles of the four Imáms.

Reverse, Square area. ٩٤٨ السلطان شير شاه خلد الله ملكه

At the foot, श्री सीरी साह.

Margin, ضرب بحضرت دهلي * * *

F. Silver. Size, viii. Weight, ? Satgaon, A.H. 951 (from the collection of the late G. H. Freeling, Bengal C.S.)

Circular area, اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و

سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه

Margin,

جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر साह इसलाम श्री ضرب ستकानو १०१

BENGAL MINTS.

	1 Lakhnauti.	2 Firuzábád.	3 Satgaon.	4 Shahr Nau.	5 Sonargaon.	6 Muizamatábád.
I. Kai Káds	A.H. 691.....695	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
II. Shams-ud-din	702.....722	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
III. Shaháb-ud-din .....	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
IV. Bahádur Sháh	710, 712.....720-722	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
Muhammad bin Tughlak (himself)	.....733	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
V. Mubarak Sháh.....	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	737.....741 to 750	... ..
VI. 'Alí Sháh .....	... ..	742.....746	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
VII. Gházi Sháh .....	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	751.....753	... ..
VIII. Iliás Sháh .....	... ..	740.....758	... ..	... ..	753.....758	... ..
IX. Sikandar Sháh .....	... ..	750.....792	780.....784	781.....786	756.....764	760.....764
X. Aázam Sháh .....	... ..	791.....799	790.....798	... ..	... ..	772.....781

Mint No. 7. Ghiásudr.....IV. Bahádur Sháh, 730 A.H.

Mint No. 8. Jannatábád.....X. Aázam Sháh, 790 A.H.



BENGAL COINS.



1



7



2



3



4



8



5



9



6



THE
INITIAL COINAGE
OF
BENGAL,

UNDER THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN CONQUERORS.

PART II.

EMBRACING THE PRELIMINARY PERIOD BETWEEN A.H. 614-694 (A.D. 1217-1236-7).

BY
EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1873.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

HERTFORD:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

THE INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL.

THE discovery of an undisturbed hoard of no less than 13,500 coins in Kooch Bihár, inhumed some five centuries since, recently claimed attention both from the number and importance of its representative specimens, which so effectively illustrated the history of the kingdom of Bengal for a consecutive period of some 107 years.¹ The earliest date thus accorded towards the purely Initial Coinage of the country under its newly-installed Muslim administrators did not reach higher than the reign of the Empress Rizíah, A.H. 634-637 (A.D. 1236-1239), or more than 34 years after the first entry of the adventurous *Khilji* and *Turki* troops into the recognized Hindú capital of the lower Ganges.² A still more recent discovery of a comparatively poor man's *cache*, in the fort of Bihár,³ elucidates an earlier chapter of the local annals; and though the contents of the earthen vessel in this case are limited in number to a total of 37 pieces, and restricted in their dates to a term of 13 years, they, in some respects, compete advantageously with the previously-recovered unexampled store, in the value of their contributions

¹ Journ. R.A.S. (N.S.) Vol. II., 1866, p. 145. Reprinted in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxxvi., 1867, p. 1.

² The name of Nuddea, नवद्वीप, *Navadvīpa*, the "new island" (converted into نودیه by the Muslims), would seem to imply a southerly movement, in concert with the silt of the Ganges, of the seat of Government down to the comparatively modern occupation of this site, on the abandonment of the successive traditional capitals of earlier dynasties.

³ I have no information as to the exact circumstances of the discovery of this small hoard, beyond the general intimation that it was secured by Mr. A. M. Broadley, C.S., in or near the Fort of Bihár. The coins have now become the property of Colonel Guthrie, who had already contributed the materials for my earlier notice of the Initial Coinage of Bengal. I understand that a description of these pieces is to be included in Mr. Broadley's forthcoming account of his antiquarian researches at Bihár (Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, July, 1872, p. 120); but I have not considered that such a promised publication need interfere with a completion of my previous article in this *Journal* by the aid of these new acquisitions.

to the obscure records of the Gangetic Delta, and in priority of date bring us more than 20 years nearer to the first occupation of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtiyár *Khilji* in 600 A.H. As in the larger and almost-regal treasure trove of Kooch Bihár, the specimens in the present instance prove to be essentially of home or indigenous fabric. With the exception of a single northern piece of the supreme *Sultán* of India, they are one and all the produce of the mints of Bengal proper, and mark with singular fidelity the varied incidents of the alternate rise and fall of the provincial governors during the unsettled relations existing between suzerain and vassal from A.H. 614 to 627, when Altamsh came into real and effectual possession of the south-eastern portion of his Empire.

One of the most instructive facts disclosed by these few pieces is, that the rich and comparatively undisturbed territory of Bengal felt the want of a supply of *silver* money long before a similar demand arose in the harassed provinces of the north-west. The southern coins date, as far as can be seen, some nine years prior to Altamsh's earliest effort at a silver coinage in his northern dominions; and even *Rizíah's* silver money of deferred date bears every token of exclusive manufacture in the subordinate *Lakhnautí* mint.

I have already quoted the testimony of *Minháj-us-Siráj*, to the effect, that on the first conquest of Bengal by the Muslims, they found no metallic or other circulating media of exchange except that supplied by *cowries*; ¹ even the compromise of the mixed silver and copper *jitals* of the various *Hindú* dynasties of the central *Rájpút* tribes was unknown in the sea-board marts of the south.

The chronicles of the proximate kingdom of Orissa, whose boundaries touched if they did not often trench upon the ancient kingdom of Gaur,² explain how so infinitesimal

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 148. See also Hamilton's *Hindustán*, i., p. 40.

² Mr. Stirling says, under the Ganga Vansa line, for a period of nearly four centuries (from A.D. 1132), the boundaries of the *Ráj* of Orissa may be stated as follows: . . . "North, a line drawn from the *Tribeni* or *Triveni* ghat above *Húgli*, through *Bishenpúr*, to the frontier of *Patkúm*: East, the river *Húgli* and the sea."—*As. Res.* xv., p. 164. *Hunter*, i., p. 280. "To the north of the mouth of the *Saraswatí* lies the broad and high *Tribeni Ghát*, a magnificent flight of steps,

and largely distributed a currency was able to supply the wants of so rich and essentially commercial a population. It would appear, from the official records preserved in the Temple at Púrí, that although there was no silver money in use, gold in convenient weights, if not in the form of absolute coin,¹ was freely interchangeable with the more bulky heaps of cowries. In these same official *Palm-leaf* documents we find the powerful King of Orissa, Anang Bhím Deo (A.D. 1174-1201), describing the geographical limits of his kingdom, specifying, with close exactitude, its now *proved* superficial area (39,407 square miles); and adding that, as the revenues of his predecessors of the Kesarí line had amounted, with a more limited extent of territory, to 15,00,000 *marhs* of gold, so his own added boundaries had raised the State income to 35,00,000 *marhs*. Mr. Stirling (our most trusted Revenue authority), relying upon still-extant local tradition, defined the *marh* at 5 *máshas'* weight;² while Dr. Hunter, under later and more vague native inspiration, pronounces it to be $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *karishá*, which measure may be assumed to represent the local pronunciation of the old widely-spread *karsha* of Manu, corresponding with the normal weight of the gold *suvarṇa*, i.e. 80 *ratis*.³ Taking the *rati* at 1.75 grains, this will make Mr. Stirling's return amount to 43.75 grains ($5 \times 5 = 25$; $25 \times 1.75 = 43.75$) per *marh*; whereas Dr. Hunter's estimate, under the same figures, would only produce 35 grains ($140 \div 4 = 35$); but, as he assumes the modern *karishá* to be equal to "one *Toláh* or one Rupee" of our modern system,—the amount of which however he does not further define,⁴—and taking the 180 grain total as the

said to have been built by Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orissa."—Blochmann, *As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 282.

¹ On the above occasion, likewise, a new coin and seal were struck by the Rája's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Khúrda Rájas, who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They run thus: *Vira Srt Gajapati, Gauréswara*, etc. "The illustrious Hero, the Gajapati (Lord of Elephants), sovereign of Gaura (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Kernáta, and the nine forts," etc.—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 272.

² Asiatic Researches, xv., p. 271. Mr. Stirling, however, seemed to imagine that the sum named for the total revenues, as tested by this estimate, was too high; but later investigations fully support the reasonable measure of the King's boast.

³ J.R.A.S., II., pp. 169, 170. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 221.

⁴ "Orissa," a continuation of the "Annals of Rural Bengal," (London, Smith &

test,¹ the result is not far removed from Mr. Stirling's earlier estimate under the old régime;—producing, in effect, a return of 45 grains for the *marh* ($180 \div 4 = 45$). But, singular to say, if we revert to the more ancient standard of the *ṣataraktika*, or 100-*rati*² weight,—a metric division which was reproduced and reaffirmed in the authorized *tankah* of the Pathán dynasty, and to which we have to allow a theoretical weight of 175 grains,—Dr. Hunter's $\frac{1}{4}$ *toláh* will come out to the exact second place of decimals of the 43.75 ($175 \div 4 = 43.75$), obtained from Mr. Stirling's data.

The determination of the true weight of the *rati* has done much both to facilitate and give authority to the comparison of the ultimately divergent standards of the ethnic kingdoms of India. Having discovered the guiding *unit*, all other calculations become simple, and present singularly convincing results, notwithstanding that the basis of all these

Elder, 1872), i., pp. 316, 317. Dr. Hunter, like myself, has endeavoured to make his antiquarian researches instructive in their application to the defects of our own government in India, consequent upon the too frequent disregard of the superior local knowledge and hereditary instincts of the races we are appointed to rule over.

After enumerating the ascertained totals of the revenue of the province at various periods, the author goes on to say, "From time immemorial Orissa, like some other parts of India, has used a local currency of *cowries*. When the province passed into our hands in 1803, the public accounts were kept and the revenue was paid in these little shells." We "however stipulated that the landholders should henceforth pay their land-tax in silver, and fixed the rate of exchange at 5120 *cowries* to the rupee." (In 1804 the official exchange was 5120, and the practical rate of exchange from 6460 to 7680.) . . . "Had our first administrators contented themselves with taking payment in silver at the current rate of the cowrie exchange, the Orissa land-tax would now have been double what it is at present. But had they resolved to collect it at a grain valuation, according to Akbar's wise policy, it would now be more than double; for the prices of food have rather more than doubled since 1804. The system of paying the land-tax by a grain valuation appears to me to be the best means of giving stability to the Indian revenues."—Orissa, ii., p. 172. Dr. Hunter had not seen my notice of "The Revenues of the Mughal Empire" (Trübner, 1872), when this was written. I had equally appreciated the equity and suitableness of the system of estimate by agricultural produce, which had come down to Akbar's time from the earliest dawn of the civilization of the nation at large; but I had to condemn Akbar for introducing a new element in the shape of a settlement to be paid in silver, on the average of the prices of previous years—an assessment he hoped, in defiance of the proverbial uncertainty of Indian seasons, to make immutable; furnishing, in effect, the leading idea we so unwisely followed in that deplorable measure, Lord Cornwallis's "Permanent Settlement of Bengal."

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, U.T., p. 7.

² *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, pp. 3, 167, 223, 224 (note). Dr. A. Weber, in the *Zeitschrift* for 1861, p. 139, cites the parallel designation of *Ṣata Krishnala*, from the *text* of the Black Yajur Veda (*circa* 800 B.C.). The commentator uses the local name above quoted.

estimates rests upon so erratic a test as the growth of the seed of the Gunjá creeper (*Abrus precatorius*), under the varied incidents of soil and climate. Nevertheless this small compact grain, checked in early times by other products of nature, is seen to have had the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India, which only came to be disturbed when monarchs, like Shír Sháh and Akbar, in their vanity, raised the weight of the coinage without any reference to the number of *ratis* inherited from Hindú sources as the *given* standard, officially recognized in the old, but altogether disregarded and left undefined in the reformed Muhammadan mintages.

I may as well take this opportunity of disposing of the other technical questions bearing upon the general subject; and, without recapitulating the investigations elsewhere given at large,¹ I may state generally, that I understand the *rati* to have been 1.75 grains, the 100-*rati* piece—reproduced in the ordinary Dehli *tankah*—175 grains. The Rájput *jital*, composed of mixed silver and copper, preserved in the early Dehli currencies of the Muslims, is $\frac{1}{8}$ in value of the 175-grain silver coin; but the number of *jitals* in any given composite piece was dependent upon the proportional amount of the silver added to the ruling copper basis. The *káni*, like the *jital*, is $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *tankah*; but the *káni* is found to be the practical as well as the theoretical divisor, applicable alike to land and other measures, preserving its more special identity in the southern peninsula. Both terms have now been found in conjunction on a single piece of Metropolitan fabric, where the *jital* is authoritatively declared to be of the value of *one káni*.² In more advanced days under the Patháns, immense quantities of pieces were coined to meet the current exchange answering to $\frac{2}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *tankah*; and under Muhammad Tughlak, amid other useful breaks in the too-uniform descending scale of the small change, a new division was introduced, in the form

¹ Numismatic Chronicle (N.S.), iv., p. 40, *et seqq.* J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., pp. 150, 166, 168. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, pp. 161, 252.

² Pathán Chronicles, coin No. 207, p. 252. See also pp. 218, 219.

of a $\frac{6}{8}$ ₜ, or *six-kāni* piece, which subsequently became better known as the *Black tankah*.¹

It would appear that the normal or conventional rate of exchange of the precious metals mechanically accepted in India from the earliest times was as silver to gold 8:1; copper to silver 64:1. Of course these rates were constantly liable to fluctuation.² Indeed, we can trace the effect of the influx of the gold of the Dakhin, after its conquest, in the fall of that metal, evidenced by the obvious readjustment of the weights of the gold and silver coinage at the Imperial seat of Government.³ But the copper rate must have had a very extended lease of immutability, as this ratio of 64:1 was maintained from the most primitive ages up to the time of Sikandar Lodí (A.D. 1488–1517).

As regards the application of these data to the examples specially under review, it would seem that the Bengal silver coinage was, from the first, deficient in weight in reference to the corresponding issues of the Dehli mint; but the Dehli silver coins were avowedly designed to fall in with the concurrent gold pieces of identical weight, and of full standard in metal: whereas we must suppose that the Lakhnautí silver pieces, in introducing a new element, were graduated to exchange in *even sums* against the extant gold currency of Bengal and Orissa. Now the gold *mark* weighed, as we have seen, 43·75 grains, which, with gold as 1 to 8 of silver, would require 350 grains of the latter metal as its equiva-

¹ I was mistaken in my first impression that the Bengal *tankahs* themselves might have a claim to this obnoxious designation. J.R.A.S., II., p. 160.

² In Akbar's time, even, the progressive alteration in the value of gold, since so much accelerated, had only reached the proportion of 9·4:1. Chronicles, p. 424. J.R.A.S., II., p. 63.

³ Pathán Chronicles, p. 235. In my previous article in this *Journal*, I was led by Ibn Batutah's indiscriminate use of the terms "Dirhams and Dinars," in their local application in Bengal, to suppose that his definition of coin exchanges referred to the relative values of gold and silver, and that it in so far supported my estimate of 1:8 (J.R.A.S., II., p. 61, note 1). I now find that towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign, the exchange had come for the moment to be 1:10 (Chronicles, p. 227), in lieu of the ordinary 1:8. The entire difficulty of the obscure passage in the *Journal of the African Voyager* has, however, been set at rest by the more comprehensive tables of values furnished by the Egyptian traveller Shaikh Mubarak *Anbati* (Notices et Extraits, xiii., p. 51), which shows that the *dīndr* of silver (i.e. the *tankah*) was equal to 8 *dirhams* (*hashi-kāni*). See also Elliot's *Historians*, iii., pp. 577, 582.

lent, or *two* 175-grain *tankahs*, reconciling alike the *fours* of the Hindú ideal with the *fives* and *tens* of Muslim predilection; but as there is reason to believe that the local gold was not refined up to a high state of purity, this defective standard may readily account for the corresponding reduction of a few grains on the full total of the silver pieces, equally as it may have justified the acceptance of a lower *touch* in the silver itself.

Later in point of time, under Bahádur Sháh (710–730 A.H.), the progressive fall in the value of gold is more definitively marked by the diminution of the weight of the silver piece to the uniform standard of 166 grains,¹ in contrast to the 169 grains which are preserved in some of the primary issues here described (Nos. 6, 7).

The central figure in the historical tableau, illustrated by these introductory coinages, stands prominently to the front in the person of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz—an outline of whose career I now append.

Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz bin Al Husain.

Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz *Khilji*, a native of Ghór in Afghánistán, on joining Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of Gangautri.² He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of Deokót,³ by Kutb-ud-dín

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 157. The new and unworn pieces in the Kooch Bihár *trouvaillé* averaged 166 grains; and the earlier issues, of 188, 189 grains, found with them, had generally been reduced in weight to correspond with the later official standard.

² Variants كنگوري—کنگوري Text, p. 158, and MSS. I have preserved Stewart's version of the name in my text, but the site of *Gangautri* has not been identified. There is a town called Gurguri (24° 23', 86° 55') on the line of country between Bihár and Nagore, but it is not known to have been a place of any mark. There is also a celebrated fort of high antiquity on the same line of communication, named Ghidúr (24° 53', 86° 56'), which may have served as an outpost of the Bihár head-quarters.

³ Deokót (lat. 25° 18', long. 88° 31'), the chief place in Gangarâmpúr (district of Dinájpúr), is now known by the name of Damdamah. Hamilton states that "it received its present appellation from its having been a military station during the early Muhammadan Government" (p. 50). Muhammad Bakhtyár,

Aibeg's representative commissioner in the South-east, and with his aid eventually defeated Muhammad Shírán and the other confederated Khiljí chiefs.¹ On the definite appointment of 'Ali Mardán Khiljí to the kingdom of Bengal by Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg, he paid his devoirs to the new Viceroy by meeting him on the Kúsi, and accom-

after his first success against the King of Bengal at Nuddea (lat. 23° 25', long. 88° 22'), contented himself with destroying that town, and withdrew his troops nearer to his base of communications, to a position about 90 miles to the northward, somewhere about the site of the future Lakhnauti, Deokót again being some 50 miles N.N.E.

Minhá-j-us-Siráj, in describing Lakhnauti, at a later date (641 A.H.), mentions that habitations were located on both sides of the Ganges, but that the city of Lakhnauti proper was situated on the western bank. The author adds, that an embankment or causeway (پل) extended for a distance of ten days' journey

through the capital from Deokót to Nagore in Bírghúm, (lat. 23° 56', long. 87° 22').—Stewart's Bengal, p. 57. Persian text of Tabakát-i-Násiri, pp. 161, 162, 243. *Áin-i-Akbari*, ii. p. 14. Elliot's *Historians*, ii., p. 318; iii. p. 112. Rennell's Map, p. 55. Wilford, *As. Res.* ix., p. 72.

The subjoined curious notice of the distribution of the boundaries of the kingdom of Bengal shortly before the Muhammadan conquest has been preserved in Hamilton's *Hindustán*. The compiler does not give his specific authority.

"During the Adisur dynasty the following are said to have been the ancient geographical divisions of Bengal. Gour was the capital, forming the centre division, and surrounded by five great provinces.

"1. Barendra, bounded by the Mahananda on the west; by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges, on the south; by the Kortoya on the east; and by adjacent governments on the north.

"2. Bangga, or the territory east from the Kortoya towards the Brahmaputra. The capital of Bengal, both before and afterwards, having long been near Dacca in the province of Bangga, the name is said to have been communicated to the whole.

"3. Bagri, or the Delta, called also Dwípa, or the island, bounded on the one side by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges; on another by the sea; and on the third by the Hooghly river, or Bhagirathi.

"4. Rarhi, bounded by the Hooghly and the Padma on the north and east, and by adjacent kingdoms on the west and south.

"5. Maithila, bounded by the Mahananda and Gour on the east; the Hooghly or Bhagirathi on the south; and by adjacent countries on the north and west."

"Bollal sen, the successor of Adisur, is said to have resided partly at Gour, but chiefly at Bikrampúr, eight miles south-east of Dacca." Bollal sen was succeeded by Lakshmana sen, who was defeated by Muhammad Bakhtyár. The author continues, "It is possible that the Rája only retired to his remote capital, Bikrampúr, near Dacca, where there still resides a family possessing considerable estates, who pretend to be his descendants. We also find that Soonergong, in the vicinity of Bikrampúr, continued to be a place of refuge to the Gour malcontents, and was not finally subjugated until long after the overthrow of Rája Lakshmana."—Hamilton's *Hindustán* (1820), i., p. 114.

¹ وچون او [محمد شیران] مهتر امرای خلیج بود همکنان اورا

خدمت می کردند و هر امیر بر سر اقطاع خود می بود.—Text, p. 158.

Stewart's Bengal, p. 51. Elliot's *Historians*, ii., p. 315.

panied him to Deokót, where he was formally installed in power. When Kutb-ud-dín died at Láhor, in 607 A.H., 'Alí Mardán assumed independence under the title of 'Alá-ud-dín; but after a reign of about two years, he was slain by the Khiljí nobles, and Hisám-ud-dín was thereupon elected in his stead (608 A.H.). History is silent as to when he first arrogated kingly state, and merely records Shams-ud-dín Altamsh's expedition against him in 622 A.H., with the object of enforcing his allegiance to the Imperial crown, when, after some doubtful successes, peace was established on the surrender of 38 elephants, the payment of 80 *laks* [of *tankahs*?], and the distinct recognition of Altamsh's suzerainty in the public prayers, with the superscription of his titles on the local coinage. The Emperor, on his return towards Dehli, made over the government of Bihár to 'Alá-ud-dín Jáni, who, however, was not long left undisturbed, for the Southern potentate speedily re-annexed that section of his former dominions,—an aggression which was met, in A.H. 624, by the advance of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in force, who, in the absence of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz on distant enterprises, succeeded in obtaining possession of the new seat of Government. In the subsequent engagement the Bengal army was defeated, and Ghíás-ud-dín killed, after a reign estimated by the local annalist at 12 years.¹

This is all the information we are able to gather from the incidental biographical notices furnished by our sole authority, Minháj-us-Siráj, that most intelligent employé of the Rulers of Dehli, and welcomed visitor at the Court of Lakhnautí in A.H. 641, where he saw and appreciated the material undertakings of this self-made king, whose memory he lauds enthusiastically. A tribute Altamsh had virtually anticipated, when he was at last permitted to behold the glories of his adversaries' capital, in 627 A.H., and then conceded the tardy justice of decreeing, that in virtue of his good works, Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz should, in his grave, be endowed with

¹ Allowing 'Alí Mardán from 607-8 to 609-10, this leaves an interval up to 612, during which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz was content to remain head of the Khiljí oligarchy and local governor.

that coveted title of *Sultán*, which had been denied to him while living.¹

We have now to examine how far the recently discovered coins will fill in this defective historical outline.

COINS STRUCK IN THE NAME OF ALTAMSH, in *Bengal*.

No. 1. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 168 grs. *Unique*, in this date.

Pl. i. fig. 1. A.H. 614.

OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر الشمش القطبي
ناصر امير المؤمنين

REVERSE.

Device.

Horseman at the charge.

Margin—

لا اله * * * محمد رسول الله
بتاريخ سنة اربع عشر وستمائة

The date of A.H. 614, this earliest numismatic record contributed by the Bengal Mints, is further remarkable as the epoch of Altamsh's final assertion of supremacy on the defeat of his last powerful competitor in Hindústán, Násir-ud-dín *Kubáchah*, after he had already disposed of his other prominent rival, Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, in 612 A.H. The issue of these provincial coins, at this conjuncture, would seem to attest the first voluntary recognition of Altamsh by Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz, who was at this time in undisturbed possession of Bengal and its dependencies. The adoption of the Cavalier device on the obverse may have been suggested by the conventional acceptance of that design on the money of the

¹ Tabakát-i-Násiri, Text, p. 163. Dr. Blochmann has an interesting paper in the September number of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 259), on Muhammadan Titles. Among other questions discussed is the derivation and early application of the title of Sultán. The author remarks that "the first clear case of *Sultán* having been used as a title belongs to the time of Rukn-ud-daulah, deputy over Fárs, under the Khalifah Al Muti'billah," A.H. 338, or A.D. 949. MM. Oppert et Ménant were under the impression that they had discovered the title so early as the time of Sargon, who, in his grand inscription at Khorsabad, is said to speak of Subaco as "*Silhan*, or Sultán d'Egypte."—*Journal Asiatique*, 1863, p. 9, and text, p. 3. Commentary, 1864, p. 10. Some doubt has, however, since been thrown upon this identification, as the designation reads optionally, if not preferably *תרן*.—Schröder, Cuneiform and Old Testament Studies (1872), p. 167.

native princes of the North-west, whose hereditary types were copied by Muhammad bin Sâm, and retained for a long period by Altamsh himself. In the new mintage, however, the Rájput horseman with his spear is superseded by the Túrki Cavalier with the historical mace,¹ and the general outline of the coarse Northern steed may perchance have been heightened to record a triumph, or to carry a menace to the subjected Bengálís,² who had left their king to escape ignominiously, and virtually surrendered their capital to the eighteen troopers of Muhammad Bakhtyár's advance guard.

Among other peculiarities of these coins is the tenor of their legends, which differ from the ordinarily adopted Imperial intitulations of the Sultán, who is here designated as القطبي, the slave or freedman of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg,—a term which may have concealed a latent taunt to one who was now supreme in the chance virtue of his arms, or may otherwise indicate the independent Khiljí method of discriminating the followers of Kutb-ud-dín as opposed to the Mu'izzi faction of the nobles of Hindústán, who had already tried conclusions with each other, to the disadvantage of the latter.

¹ Mahmúd of Ghazni's favourite weapon. Tradition affirms that it was preserved in all honour by the guardians of his tomb at Ghazni.—Atkinson, *Expedition into Afghánistán*, p. 222. So much credence was attached to this ancient legend, that we find Lord Ellenborough in 1842 instructing his generals, in sober earnestness, to "bring away from the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazni his club which hangs over it." Muhammad Bakhtyár himself had also won glory by the use of his mace in his gladiatorial encounter, single-handed, with an elephant, who was compelled to retreat before the first blow of his powerful arm.

² The name of *Aswapatis*, "Lords of Horses," was subsequently applied specifically in Orissa to the Muhammadan conquerors. Mr. Hunter remarks, "The Telugu Palm Leaf MSS. state that between (Saka 895) A.D. 972 and A.D. 1563 three great powers successively arose. During this period the *Gajapatis*, 'Lords of Elephants,' ruled in Orissa and the north of Madras; the *Narapatis*, 'Lords of Men,' held the country to the southward. The Lords of Horses were the Musalmáns, who, with their all-devouring Pathán cavalry, overthrew the two former."—Orissa, ii., p. 8. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 254. Aín-i-Akbari, Gladwin's translation, i., p. 319. Abúl Fazl, in describing the game of cards affected by his royal master, speaks of "*Ashweput*, the king of the horses. He is painted on horseback, like the king of Dehli, with the Chutter, the Alum, and other ensigns of royalty; and *Gujput*, the king of the elephants, is mounted on an elephant like the king of Orissa."

No. 2. Gold. Weight, 70·6 grs. *Unique. Gaur, A.H. 616.*¹



OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر السمش
القطب برهان
امير المومنين²

REVERSE.

Horseman at the charge.

In the field—ضرب بکور

Margin—

لا * * * رسول الله بتاريخ سنه

ست عشر وستمایه

This unique gold coin of the period, put forth under Muslim auspices, is of more than usual value in confirming the locality of the Mint of its counterparts in silver, which are deficient in any geographical record ; indeed, none of the Bengal coins, which form the bulk of the *trouvaille* to which the present notice is devoted, bear any indication of the site on which they were struck. Found, however, in company with so many clearly local pieces, there would have been little hesitation in assigning them to the southern division of the new Muhammadan empire ; but the distinct announcement of the place of issue of the gold piece is of importance not only in fixing definitively the then head-quarters, but in presenting us with the name of *Gaur*,³ regarding the use of

¹ Reproduced from the original coin, in the collection of Col. Guthrie, already published in the *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 78.

² Kiliç Arslán, the Seljûk of Anatolia (A.H. 656), uses this title of برهان امير (Fræhn, p. 156). The three sons of Kai Khusrá (A.H. 647) employ the term in the plural براهين.

³ I need have no hesitation in admitting that on the first examination of this piece, as an isolated specimen of a hitherto unknown mintage, I was disposed,

which, at this epoch, there was some controversy.¹ Advantage has been taken in this, to the native comprehension, more elaborately-finished piece, to insert in the vacant spaces on the field, above and below the main device, the words, ضرب بگور, "Struck at Gaur," and although the requisite dot below the بگور has escaped definition, there need be little doubt as to the purport of the entry, which it was not thought necessary to reproduce on the less-esteemed silver money, whose status with the Mint officials, as equally with the public at large, ranged at a lower level.

The date of 616 A.H. on this coin, supported and in a measure explained as it is by the marginal legend on No. 3, proves that the professed allegiance of the local ruler of Bengal to the head of the followers of Islām at Dehli, was no momentary demonstration, but a sustained confession of vassalage extending over one complete year, and portions of the previous and succeeding twelve months.

The topographical record on No. 2 would further seem to show that Hisām-ud-dīn had not as yet transferred his capital to the new site of *Lakhnauti*, to the west of the river, whose designation first appears in a definite form on the coins of the Empress Rīzīah, in A.H. 635.²

in the absence of any dot either above or below the line of writing, to adopt the alternative reading of بگور instead of بگور, while confessing a preference for the latter transcription, on account of the need of the preposition ب (Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 79); but, at the time, I was unprepared to expect that Altamsh's sway had extended to the lower provinces, which were avowedly in independent charge of the Khilji successors of Muhammad Bakhtyār. This difficulty is now curiously explained by the concurrent silver pieces, and the supposition that the local chieftain found it expedient to profess allegiance, nominal or real, to the preponderating influence of the master of Hindūstān. In like manner, the recently discovered silver coins have supplied a clue to the more satisfactory decipherment of the marginal legend, and the explanation of other minor imperfections in the definition of the exotic characters of the gold coin, which it is useless to follow in detail.

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 187. Cf. also Albfrúnf; Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 298, quoted in J.R.A.S. (N.S.) I., p. 471. As. Res. ix., pp. 72, 74; xvii. 617. Wilson's Glossary, *sub voce*, etc. Rennell, Map of Hindūstān, p. 55. Stewart's Bengal, pp. 44, 57.

² Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 107. J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 187, coin No. 14 *infra*.

No. 3. Silver. Size, 7. Weight, 168 grs. *Very rare.*

Pl. i. fig. 2. A.H. 616.

OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر الشمش
القطبي برهان
* *

REVERSE.

Horseman at charge.

Margin—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
بتاريخ سنة ست عشرة وستمائة

No. 3a. Variety. Weight, 162 grs. Pl. i. fig. 3. Date illegible. The Persian legend on the obverse is given in very imperfectly defined characters, and offers the peculiarity of the insertion of the Hindi letters **श**, for *Sháh*, above the name of the king, thereby indicating that both die-engravers and the local public were naturally better versed in the old alphabet than in the newly-imported letters of the conquerors.

COINS OF GHÍÁS-UD-DÍN 'AWZ.

No. 4. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 161 grs. (full weight.)

Pl. i. fig. 4. A.H. 616. (7 specimens.)

OBVERSE.

السلطان
المعظم غياث الدنيا
والدين ابو الفتح
عوض بن الحسين ناصر
امير المومنين

REVERSE.

لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
Margin—ضرب هذه السكة في
شهور سنة ست عشرة وستمائة

Coin No. 4 teaches us that in the same year 616 A.H., in the early part of which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz had confessed allegiance to Altamsh, he seemingly grew weary of such

pretences, and openly declared himself *Sultán* in his own right, assuming the regal title of *Ghiás-ud-dín*, and the quasi-hierarchical function implied in the designation of *Náṣir Amír Al Muaminín*, "Defender of the Commander of the Faithful." Whether this overt assertion of independence was suggested by his own growing power, or was due to the imagined weakness of the suzerain, is not clear; but there can be no question as to his success in the extension and consolidation of his dominions, or to his vigorous administration of a country, fertile in the extreme, and endowed with such singular commercial advantages of sea and river intercourse.

At this particular juncture Altamsh does not seem to have been pressed by any important home disturbances, but there were dark clouds on the N.W. frontier. The all-powerful 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *Khárizmí*, whose outposts extended over so large a portion of Asia, had been coining money in the inconvenient proximity of *Ghazni* throughout the years 613, 614-616 A.H.;¹ and no one could foretell when he might follow the ordinary precedent, and advance into Hindústán. As fate determined, however, it was left to his son *Jalál-ud-dín* to swim the Indus, at the risk of his life, as a fugitive before the hosts of Changíz Khán, in 618 A.H.

The mention of *Changíz Khán* suggests to me the desirability of repeating a correction, I have already recorded elsewhere, of a singular delusion, shared alike by native copyists and English commentators, regarding one of the supposed incidents of the sufficiently diversified career of this scourge of the world, to the effect that his unkempt savages had penetrated down to the impossible limit of the lower Ganges. The whole series of mistakes, Asiatic or European, may now be traced back to a simple clerical error in the transcription from a chance leading copy of the ordinarily rare work of Minháj-us-Siráj—where the name of *Changíz Khán* جنگیز خان has been substituted for the more obvious designation of the ancient town of *Jájnagar* جاجنجر.

¹ J.R.A.S. IX., p. 381; XVII., p. 202; Chronicles of Pathán Kings, p. 86.

Modern authors, examining a single passage, might well have felt reserve in reconstructing at hazard a primary version; but the editors of the Calcutta official printed text have gone so far towards perpetuating the enigma they were unable to unravel, as to add to the difficulties of solution by making Changiz Khán fight (so far on his way to Lakhnautí) the memorable battle of Perwán [35° 9' N., 69° 16' E.] on the conveniently converging site of Budaon (p. 348), which was situated on one of the favourite main lines of transit to the south, east of the Ganges. This conglomeration is, however, the less excusable, as Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, had already pointed out Ferishtah's palpable mistake to the same effect; and the editors themselves unconsciously admit the preferable variant of جاجنكر inserted in the foot-note, p. 199. Dr. Hunter, I see, in his new work on Orissa (ii. 4), incautiously follows Stewart's first impressions, in the notion that the "vanity" of Muhammadan historians had intentionally "converted the attack of the humble Orissians into an invasion of Tartars" (Stewart, p. 62).¹ I myself prefer the

¹ Mr. Stirling, in his most exhaustive memoir on Orissa, published in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1822, observes:—"Major Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, places an invasion of Orissa by the Mussalmans of Bengal during this reign, that is A.D. 1243. The *Chronicles* of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus: 'In the year 614 (A.D. 1243), the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Toghlan Khan marched to Ketasun, on the frontier of Jagepur, where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up intrenchments to oppose him.' . . . Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality, as here described; and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishtah is altogether silent on this subject in his history of Bengal, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chitta, Thibet, etc. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghral into Jainagar (A.D. 1279), which he calls *Orissa*, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon as lying on the road, that Jainagar is some place beyond the Ganges."—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 274.

It seems to have escaped Mr. Stirling's notice, that Stewart had already corrected his own error in speaking of "Jagepore" as "Orissa," pp. 61 and 65, by placing that town in its proper position in "Tipperah," in a later passage (p. 70); and he further improved upon his advanced knowledge by saying in a note, at p. 72, "Jagenagur is said to have been a town in Orissa, near Cuttack; but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooter. The Jagenagar mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore." [?] Stewart, *Hist. Bengal*, p. 72. Dow, i., p. 202 (4to. edit.). Briggs, i., p. 260. See also *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 121.

more obvious and direct explanation above given, which perhaps reflects more upon our defective criticism than upon Muslim vanity.¹

No. 5. Silver. Size, 8½. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 617.
(2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا
المعظم غياث الدنيا	الله محمد رسول
والدين ابو الفتح عوض	الله
بن الحسين ناصر امير	ضرب هذه السكه في—Margin
المومنين	التاريخ السابع عشر وستمائة

No. 6. Silver. Size, 8. Weight, 169. (Coarse badly formed legends). A.H. 617. (2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
غياث الدنيا والدين	محمد رسول الله
ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين	الناصر لدين الله
ناصر امير المومنين و	امير المومنين
ولي عهده علا الحق	ضرب هذه السكه في—Margin
والدين	شهور سنة اربع عشرة وستمائة

¹ Cf. Elphinstone (new edit. by Professor Cowell), p. 377. Elliot, *Muham-
madan Historians*, ii., pp. 264, 344. Dr. Lee's *Ibn Batutah*, *Oriental Tr. Fund*,
p. 97. Ferishtah, *Bombay Persian Text*, i., p. 122. Badaoni, *Calcutta Persian*
Text, p. 88. Tabakât-i-Nâsirî, *Calcutta Persian Text*, pp. 157, 163, 199, 243, 245.

No. 6a. Variety. One example gives the altered marginal reading of

ضرب هذه السكه في ربيع الآخر سنة سبع * * ستمائة

Al Nāṣir-le-dīn Illah was invested in the Khilāfat in A.H. 575, and died on the 1st Shawwāl, A.H. 622 (5th October, 1225 A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, pp. 269–301. Ibn Asīr, p. 285, fixes his death at the end of Ramazān. Price, *Muhammadian History*, ii., p. 210.

The tenor of the legends of the consecutive issues of A.H. 617 disclose an increasing confidence in his own power on the part of *Ghiās-ud-dīn 'Awz*, in the addition made to his previous titles, and in the assumption of the superlative *Al 'Azam*, "the highest," as the prefix to the *Al Sultān* in place of the heretofore modest adjective of *Al Mu'azzam*, "the great."¹ Here, for the first time in this series, we meet with the official or regnant designation of the Khalif of Baghdād, who has hitherto been referred to by the mere generic title of "Commander of the Faithful."

It would appear from this innovation, as if *Ghiās-ud-dīn* had already, indirectly, put himself in communication with the Pontifical Court at Baghdād, with a view to obtaining recognition as a sovereign prince in the Muslim hierarchy,—a further indication of which may possibly be detected in the exceptional insertion of the *month* in addition to the ordinary *year* of issue on the margin of No. 6a; a specification which will be found more fully developed in the succeeding mintages, where it admits of an explanation which is not so obvious or conclusive in this instance.

¹ Altamah himself seems to have been indifferent to this distinction, but its importance is shown in the early coinages of Muhammad bin Sām, who invariably reserves the superlative prefix for his reigning brother, while he limits his own claims to the virtually comparative المعظم. And further to mark these gradations, he prominently adopts the higher title after his brother's death. *Chronicles of Pathān Kings*, pp. 12, 13, 14. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx., figs. 29, 35.

No. 7. Silver. Size, 9. Weight, 169 grs. Pl. i. fig. 5.¹ Dated
20th of Rab'ul ákhir, A.H. 620. (7 specimens.)

OBSERVE.

غياث الدنيا
والدين ابو الفتح عو
ض بن الحسين قسيم امير المومنين
سلطان السلاطين في الدنيا
والدين ابو المظفر على يده
امير المومنين
خلد الله ملكه

REVERSE.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المومنين
في التاريخ العشرين—Margin
من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
عشرين وستمائة

No. 7a. Variety. Weight, 165 grs. Coin of the same date and similar character, which transfers the complete name of عوض into the third line; the dubious prefix to the second الدين والدينا reads more as معز, while the suggested يده, above given, appears as يدنو.

If the preceding coins had left any doubt as to Ghíás-ud-dín's designs in regard to the assumption of sovereign power, the tenor of the legends on Nos. 7 and 7a, would conclusively set that question at rest. Here, not content with the recently-arrogated title of السلطان الاعظم, we find him calling himself "*Sultán of Sultáns*," by direct appointment of the Khalif,² associated with which is the entry

¹ See also Marsden, No. DCCCLVII. p. 564. There are two coins of this type in his collection in the British Museum. Marsden remarks, "The date of this coin, the earliest of those belonging to the princes who governed Bengal in the name of the Kings of Dehli, but who took all opportunities of rendering themselves independent, is expressed distinctly in words. . . . The titles and patronymics of the Sultán by whom it was struck are for the most part illegible; not so much from obliteration, as from the original imperfect formation of the characters."

² The term علي يدي is of frequent occurrence on the early Muslim coinages, and is usually associated with the name of the officer—whatever his condition—responsible for the mint issues, as علي يدي احمد which is translated by Fræhn as "*manibus*" (i.e. *curâ et operâ*), *Ahmadis* or "*curante*,"—a definition accepted in later days on the Continent as "*par les mains de, par les soins de,*" etc.

of a specific date, with the still more unusual definition of the day of the month, which is preserved constant and unvaried throughout the entire issue. More remarkable still is the abnormal departure from the conventional form of coin legends, in the omission of the preliminary "*Al Sultán*," and the abrupt introduction of the regnal title of the once probational *Hisám-ud-dín*, under his more ambitious designation of *Ghiás-ud-dín*. In short, the entire drift of the altered superscription points to an intentional reproduction of some formal phraseology, such as would be eminently consistent with an official transcript of the *revered* precept emanating from Baghdád.

I should infer from these coincidences that a formal diploma had by this time been conceded by the Supreme Pontiff, admitting the newly-erected kingdom of Bengal within the boundaries of Islám, and confirming the reigning monarch in possession, with added titles and dignities. The date so prominently repeated may either be that upon which the patent was originally *sealed*, or more probably it points to the auspicious moment of the reception of the ambassadors, who conveyed the formal document and paraphernalia of investment, at the Court of Lakhnauti. This assignment in no way disturbs my previous attribution of the inaugural piece of Altamsh,¹ marking his attainment of the like honours in A.H. 626. The very concession to the Bengal potentate possibly led his once suzerain to seek a parallel sanctification of his own rights, which he had previously been content to hold by the sword: and the difficulty of communication with Baghdád over alien kingdoms and disturbed frontiers would account for a delay of the emissaries on the one part and the other, which would not affect the open ocean passage between the mouths of the Ganges and the sea port of Bussorah.

In the present instance it would seem to imply a more or less direct intervention by the Commander of the Faithful himself in favour of his nominee.

¹ Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 154, No. 1, *note*; Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46. Of course this exceptional issue will now have to cede priority of date both to the Bengal coins of A.H. 614, etc., and likewise to the northern piece of Altamsh, No. 8, which must be taken as anterior to No. 10.

COIN OF ALTAMSH.

No. 8. Silver. Size $8\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 168 grs. Square Kufic characters, which seem to belong to Láhor or some northern Mint.¹ Pl. i. fig. 6. A.H. 62*?

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا الله
المعظم شمس	محمد رسول
الدنيا والدين	الله الناصر لدين
ابو المظفر ايلشمش	الله امير المو
السلطان يمين خليفه	منين
الله ناصر امير	هذا الضرب ؟
المومنين	عشر[ين و سة مايه
	Margin—

BENGAL COINS OF ALTAMSH SUBSEQUENT TO THE RE-ASSERTION OF HIS
IMPERIAL SWAY.

No. 9. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 168 grs. Bengal type of Coin.
A.H. 622.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	As in Nos. 6 and 7,—Coins
المعظم شمس الدنيا و	of Ghíás-ud-dín, with the
الدين ابا المظفر ايلشمش	name of the Khalif <i>Al</i>
السلطان يمين خليفه	<i>Náṣir-le-dín Illah.</i>
الله ناصر امير المو	Margin—
منين	هذا الضرب ² في شهر سنه اثني
	عشرين و ستمايه

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 15. Pl. i. figs. 4–8.

² This word as designating the coin is unusual; but we have the term

Altamsh does not seem to have found it convenient to proceed against his contumacious vassal, who was now ready to meet him on almost equal terms, till A.H. 622, when the coinage immediately attests one part of the compact under which peace was secured, in the exclusive use of the name of the Emperor of Hindústán on the money of Bengal.¹ That the issue, represented by No. 9, proceeded from the local Mints, is evident alike from the style and fabric of the pieces, their defective metal, and the uncouth forms of the letters of the legends.

No. 10. Silver. Size 8. Weight 168 grs. (2 specimens.)

Plate i. fig. 7. A.H. 624.

OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْاَعْظَمُ

شَمْسُ الدِّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ

أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ أَيْلَسْمَشْ

السُّلْطَانُ نَاصِرِ امِيرِ

الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

REVERSE.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

الظَّاهِرُ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ

أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

ضرب هذه * * * شهر—Margin

سنة أربع وعشرين وستة مائة

دارالضرب for the Mint, and the ضرب هذه etc., as the ordinary prefix to the السكة or الفضة of the Pathán monarchs. The letters on the Bengal coins look more like الضرب, which, however, does not seem to make sense. Fræhn long ago suggested that the word ضرب ought to be received as a substantive, especially in those cases where the preposition ب did not follow it, in the given sentence, as a prefix to the name of the Mint city.

¹ غياث الدين عوض خلجي رقبه خدمت در رقبه انقياد آورد و سي [سي و هشت p. 162] زنجير پيل و هشتاد لك مال بداد و

خطبه و سكه بنام مبارك شمسي كرد.—Calcutta text, pp. 163, 171.

Al Zāhir beamrillah, the Khalif whose name is inscribed on this coin, succeeded his father on the 2nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 622, and died on the 14th Rajab, A.H. 623 (July 11, 1226 A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, p. 302.

No. 11. Silver. Size 7. Weight 167 grs. *Unique*. Pl. i., fig. 8. A.H. 624.

Square area, within double lines, following the pattern of some of the examples of Muhammad Ghori's coins.

السلطان الاعظم

شمس الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر ايلشاه

السلطان ناصر

The words امير المؤمنين are inserted in the interstices between the square area and the circular marginal line, as in the Dehli coins of Bahrām Shāh.¹

REVERSE.

Legend in the area as in the last coin, with the name of the Khalif *Al Zāhir*.

ضرب * * سنة اربع—Margin

وعشرين وسة ماية

It might be supposed to be an open question as to whether Ghīās-ud-dīn 'Awz or Nāṣir-ud-dīn *Mahmūd*—the eldest son of Altamsh and his viceroy in Bengal—presided over the Mints which put forth the coins classed under Nos. 10 and 11. As regards the latter, at present *unique* piece, there can be little doubt, from its assimilation to the ordinary Dehli models, that it formed a portion of the revised and improved coinage of the south after Mahmūd's defeat of Ghīās-ud-dīn in 624 A.H. In like manner, the introduction of the term الاعظم on No. 10, as a prefix to the title of

¹ Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 118.

Sultán Altamsh, points to a feeling of filial reverence, which is altogether wanting even in Ghíás-ud-dín's repentant manifesto in the legend of No. 9. Mahmúd's appointment to the Government of Oudh dates from A.H. 623,¹ and the tenor of one of the narratives of Minháj-us-Siráj would imply that he proceeded southwards with but little delay; so that all coins bearing the date of 624, with the name of Altamsh, might preferentially be assigned to his interposition, more especially as Ghíás-ud-dín at and prior to this period had placed himself in a renewed attitude of insurrection.

Coin of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh, as Viceroy in Bengal.

The administration of the Bengal Mints under the official auspices of Násir-ud-dín *Mahmúd*, as developed in the issues Nos. 10, 11, leads up to and confirms with more full effect an identification I have hitherto been obliged to advocate in a less confident tone—that is, the attribution of the piece, reproduced in the woodcut below, under No. 12, to the eldest son of Altamsh, at some period towards the close of his brief career.² With these newly-discovered evidences of his overt intervention in the local currencies, the transition to a subdued and possibly paternally-sanctioned numismatic proclamation, in his own name, would be easy, more especially if that advance was made simultaneously with the effusive reception at Dehli of the reigning Khalif's earliest recognition of Altamsh's supremacy, coupled with the desirability of making this Imperial triumph manifest in those southern latitudes, where other dynastic names had already claimed a prior sanctification.³

¹ Persian text, 180.

² Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 182. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 81.

³ Minháj-us-Siráj, after completing his account of Násir-ud-dín's conquest of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz, and the transmission of the spoils to the Sultán at Dehli, continues—

وچون تشریفات دارالخلافه بحضرت سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه

Such an authorized augmentation of the Prince's state is rendered the more probable, as Altamsh in a measure shared with his favourite son the honours and dignities conferred by the Khalif, and simultaneously extended to him the right to use an umbrella with the tint of Imperial red.¹ Nâsir-ud-dîn Mahmûd, the contemporary biographer remarks, was from that time looked upon as the recognized successor to the throne of Hindústân. Equally, after Mahmûd's premature death, his father still so held him in honour that his body was brought to Dehli, and enshrined under one of the choicest domes that Eastern Saracenic art could achieve, which to this day, amid its now broken marbles, stands as a monument of the virtues of this prince, and preserves in its decaying walls the remains of² the *first* royal tomb of the

رسید از انجمله یک تشریف گرانمایه با چتر لعل بظرف لکهنوتی
فرستاد ملک ناصرالدین علیه الرحمة بدان چتر و تشریف و اکرام
مشرف گشت و همکنان را از ملوک و اکابر مملکت هند نظر بدو بود
که وارث مملکت شمسی او باشد فاما * * بعد از یکسال و نیم * *
برحمت حق تعالی پیوست.—۱۸۱. p.

(See also Elliot's *Historians*, ii., pp. 326, 329.)

The Khalif's emissary arrived at Dehli on the 22nd of Rabî'ul awwal, (3rd month of) A.H. 626, p. ۱۷۹, and news of the death of Nâsir-ud-dîn Mahmûd reached the capital in the 5th month of the same year, p. 174.

¹ The founder of the Ghaznavi dynasty, the Great Sabuktigin, assumed regal state under the shadow of a *red* umbrella. Altamsh's ensigns are described as *black* for the right wing *رايات میمنه سیاه* and *red* for the left wing *رايات* *میسره لعل* p. ۱۷۴. Mu'izz-ud-dîn Muhammad bin Sâm's standards bore the same colours, but the discrimination is made that the *black* pertained to the Ghóris, and the *red* to the Túrks, p. ۱۲۷. Ghíás-ud-dîn Muhammad bin Sâm used *black* and *red* for the two wings respectively, p. 83.

² INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SULTÁN GHÁZÍ [NÂSIR-UD-DÍN MAHMÚD] AT DEHLI, DATED A.H. 629.

امر بمنا. هذه القبة المباركة السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم

slave kings erected near the capital,¹ on the shattered entrance arch of which we can still trace the devotional prayer of the father for the soul of his son, whose mundane glories he briefly epitomizes as "King of Kings of the East," implying, in the conventional terms of the day, all India beyond the Gogra.

And still further to secure a contemporary memento of his lost heir, Altamsh conferred the same name and title upon a younger son, who, in his turn, was destined to occupy the throne of Dehli for twenty years, and the name of Nâsir-ud-dîn Mahmûd was perpetuated anew in the next generation, under another dynasty, as the designation of Balban's heir, who carried it back to Bengal, where he was permitted to found a new family of southern kings,² who for half a century succeeded in maintaining a fitful sovereignty, seldom disturbed by the more powerful Sultâns of Hindûstân.

مالك رقاب الامم ظل الله في العالم ذو الامان لاهل الذمه سلطان
السلطين شمس الدنيا والدين المخصوص بعنايت رب العالمين ابي
المظفر الممش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه لروضه
ملك الملوك الشرق ابي الفتح محمود تعمرة الله بغفرانه واسكنه
كنف نعيم جنانه في شهور سنه تسع وعشرين وستمائة

This Tomb, which is known as the Maqbarat of Sultân Ghâzi, stands amid the ruins of the village of Mullikpûr Koyi, about three miles due west of the celebrated Kutb Minâr. Asâr-us-Sunnadîd, Dehli, 1854, pp. 23, 30 (No. 12, 18, Facsimile), and 60 (modern transcript revised). See also *Journal Asiatique*, M. G. de Tassy's translation of the *Urdu* text; also *Journal Archæological Society of Dehli*, p. 57, and *Hand-book for Dehli*, 1863, p. 85.

¹ Rukn-ud-dîn Fîrûz Shâh, another son of Altamsh, who for a brief period held the throne of Dehli, found a final resting-place on the chosen site of Mullikpûr; and his brother in deferred succession, entitled Mu'izz-ud-dîn *Bahrâm Shâh*, followed him into the Tombs of the Kings in the same locality.—Asâr-us-Sunnadîd, pp. 25, 26. Elliot's *Historians*, iii., p. 382. *Chronicles of Pathân Kings*, p. 290.

² See p. 35 *infra*.

No. 12. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 163·1 grs. *Unique.* British Museum.



OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ
أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ
شَاهُ بْنُ سُلْطَانَ



REVERSE.

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمَامِ
الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Al Mustansir billah was inaugurated on the 14th of Rajab, 623 A.H.=1226 A.D., the same day that his father Al Zāhir died.—Bar Hebræus, p. 303.

I quote in illustration of my previous remarks, the legends on the special issue of Altamsh on the occasion of the receipt of his diploma of investiture in A.H. 626.

Weight of the B. M. Coin, 164 grains.

OBVERSE—لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ وَرَسُولُ اللَّهِ

REVERSE—As above, in No. 12, with similarly formed characters.¹

It may be noted that on a like occasion of the reception of the Egyptian Khalif's diploma at Dehli in 744 A.H., Muhammad bin Tughlak adopted a similar method of exhibiting his respect by introducing the pontiff's name on the coinage to the exclusion of his own.

The identification of the individual, who styles himself Daulat Sháh, with many high-sounding prefixes, on the sub-joined coin, demanded a certain amount of patient patch-

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46.

work, which I have relegated to the note below.¹ Suffice it to say that *Daulat Sháh bin Modúd* is the person who is spoken of elsewhere as *Ikhtiyár-ud-dín BALKÁ* ² *Khilji*, and who appears in history on the single occasion of his possessing himself of the Kingdom of Bengal on the death of *Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd*, and his subsequent suppression and capture on the advance of *Altamsh's* forces in the self-same year, 627 A.H., he was unwise enough to record on his unauthorized coinage.

در ماه جمادي الاولی سنه ست و عشرين و ستمائه خبر فوت
ملک سعید ناصرالدین محمود برسد بلکا ملک خلجی در ممالک
لکهنوتی عصیان آورد و سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه لشکرهاي
هندوستان بطرف لکهنوتی برد و در شهر سنه سبع و عشرين و ستمائه
آن طاهي را بدست آورد و تخت لکهنوتی بملک علاءالدین جانی
داد علیه الرحمة و در رجب همین سال بحضرت جلال دهلي بار
آمد Calcutta Text, p. ۱۷۴.

سلطان سعید شمس الدین چون بدیار لکهنوتی رسید بعد از فوت
ملک ناصرالدین محمود طاب ثراه و دفع فتنه ملک اختیارالدین
بلکا Calcutta Text, p. ۱۶۲.

In the printed text, under the *first* Court Circular list of the ملوک و اقرباء of Sultán Shams-ud-dín, we find the following entry, دولت شاه خلجی; and in the *second* document, purporting to be a variant of that official return, we read, ملک اختیارالدین ایران شاه بلکا خلجی (pp. ۱۷۷ and ۱۷۸), which latter version is greatly improved by the Oriental Lord Chamberlain's list preserved in a MS. in the B. M. (Addit. No. 26,189), which associates more directly the title with the name, and identifies the individual as ملک اختیارالدین دولتشاه بلکا

² The word *Balká* has exercised the commentators. It may be found, however, in the early Ghaznavi name of *Balká-Tigin*. بلکا means a "camel colt," and تکیں is "handsome."

No. 13. Silver. Size 9½. Weight, 168. *Unique*. Plate i. fig. 9.

A.H. 627 ?

OBVERSE.

المستنصر بالله
امير المؤمنين السلطان
الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين
أبو الفتح ايلتمش السلطان
برهان امير المؤمنين

REVERSE.

السلطان
العاقل شهنشاه باذل
علا الدنيا والدين ابو الغازي
دولتشاه بن مودود
عضد خليفه الله
ظهير امير المؤمنين

Margin—* * شهور سنه سبع—

وعشرين وستمائه

The reading of *ابو الغازي* is speculative: the letters *العا* are distinct, as are also the two dots of the *ي*, but that letter *itself* cannot be traced, and the visible remains of the character succeeding the *العا* are more like *ا* or *لي* than the suggested *زي*.

Inscription of Altamsh.

Among the numerous inscriptions of Altamsh already known, no one possesses greater interest than the subjoined, which has lately been published in the J.A.S. Bengal.

Budáón was one of Altamsh's earliest charges, and from thence he was called to supreme sovereignty at Dehli on the death of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg.

Inscription of Altamsh, on the gateway of the Jám'i Masjid at Budáón.¹

ادخلوها بسلام آمين السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم شمس

¹ Deciphered by Mr. Wilson, C.S., Budáón.—J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 112.

الدنيا و الذين غياث الاسلام و المشلمين اعدل الملوك و السلاطين
 ابوالمظفر ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه في
 شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ستماية و ثمانية عشرين

Dated, *Ramadrn* A.D. 628 [Nov. 1280 A.D.].

Coin of Rizāh.

I conclude this limited series, and complete this section of the numismatic history of the south, by the reproduction of the sole available *dated* coin of Rizāh, minted at Lakhnautī, in A.H. 635. After this epoch there follows an interval of more than half a century, during which we discover no coins of Bengal proper. But the year 691 A.H. may be said to inaugurate a new era, represented by the mintages of the more firmly-established local kings of the family of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the son of Balban, who, perhaps wisely, preferred the placid repose of a *quasi*-vicerealty at Lakhnautī, to the turmoils of the Imperial throne, to which he was the acknowledged heir. He does not seem to have arrogated to himself the right to coin; and it was left to his second son Kai Kāūs to resume that symbol of independent power.

No. 14. Silver. Weight, 164·5 grs. Size, 7. Lakhnautī, A.H. 635.
 The late General T. P. Smith.¹

OBVERSE.

السلطان الاعظم
 جلالة الدنيا والدين
 ملكه ابنت التمش السلطان
 مهرة امير المومنين

REVERSE.

في عهد الامام
 المستنصر امير
 المومنين

Margin—

ضرب هذا الفضة بكنوتي سنة
 خمس وثلثين وستماية

¹ Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, No. 90, p. 107. A similar coin (wanting in the date) is figured and described in the J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 186.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to extend this paper beyond the exact limit covered by Mr. Broadley's collection, in order to gather up such later antiquarian gleanings as chance to illustrate the obscure section of the history of Bengal during the first half-century of the 107 years comprised in the Kooch Bihár representative accumulations, which formed the subject of my previous paper on "The Initial Coinage of Bengal," or, in effect, to follow up the local changes, of which we have occasional monumental records, down to the time when Híás Sháh attained independence, and expanded his boundaries and his power into imperial proportions.

The energy and research of our fellow-labourers in the East has been largely rewarded in these days by the number of inscriptions brought to light in various parts of the country, which have been deciphered, and more or less completely published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the supervision of their critical and indefatigable secretary, Dr. Blochmann, to whom we are indebted for such comprehensive analyses of the learning and traditions of the Court of Akbar and subsequent Mughal monarchs.

INSCRIPTION A.

The first mural record in point of date of which at present only a brief outline is available, consists of the

INSCRIPTION OF TUGHRIL KHÁN AT BIHÁR,
which is described as pertaining to "an edifice built in A.H. 640, or A.D. 1242, by 'Izz-ud-dín Abulfath Tughril Khán, who styles himself Sultán, and assumes other regal epithets, as *Khákán-ul-Mu'azzam*, *Khallada-lláhu mulakhu*," etc.¹

This is a most suggestive contribution to the other revelations of the condition of the country at this time, from which, on the full decipherment of the original text, we may perchance gain new knowledge of the ever imminent revolutions

¹ J.A.S.B. Proceedings, November, 1871, p. 247.

of regnant vassals in *partibus infidelium* against absent Muhammadan Emperors.

There is nothing, however, to cause surprise in the assumption of royal titles by Tughril on this occasion, as, although he had been a firm adherent of the Empress Riziah, had been endowed by her with the honours of the red umbrella, and had coined assiduously the only silver money bearing her name hitherto discovered, his devotion to the Imperial throne was confessedly shaken after her death, and in this self-same year, 640 A.H., taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning monarch at Dehli, he proceeded to annex the province of Karra Mánikpúr, which in itself constituted an overt act of rebellion against his Suzerain.¹

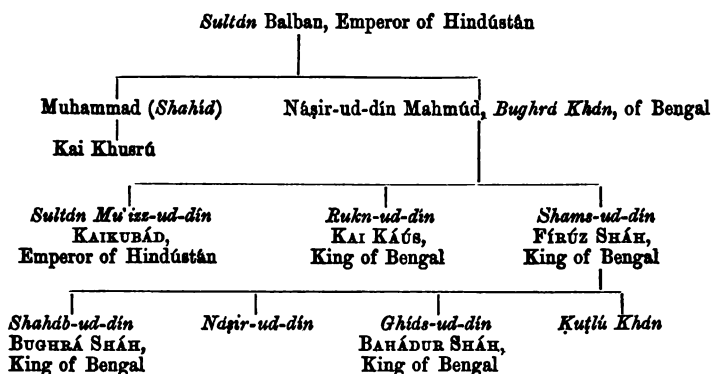
The next division of the Initial Coinage of Bengal brings us into much more definite contact with the realities of mediæval remains, and reminds me that on my first endeavour to identify the Kai Káús of the Kooch Bihár coins, I was obliged to crave indulgence in the mere reading of the dates so incoherently defined on his mintages. I had, for the time, to abandon all faith in the units, to claim only dubious credence for the *decimals*; though the *hundreds* necessarily remained beyond cavil, even had the Bengal Mint-officials blundered in the definition of the alien Semitic legends with more than their accustomed licence.

I was, however, venturesome enough on that occasion to suggest—in dotted lines and duly reserved *square* brackets—that the then obscure *Kai Káús* ought to have a place in the family tree of the house of Balban, a claim which had escaped the record of contemporary biographers, or the knowledge of later commentators on the local events in Bengal. I have since found abundant testimony towards establishing his true place both under the one and the other aspect.

On a recent occasion of reviewing my previous Essay on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, I embodied, with more confi-

¹ Minháj-us-Siráj, Persian text, p. 243. Stewart's Bengal, p. 61.

dence,¹ the restored genealogical tree, of which the following is a transcript :



In support of this direct line of descent, I can now quote evidence from two confirmatory sources, the incidental mention of Kai Káús as "the second son" of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, on the eve of the interview of the rival monarchs, Kaikubád, the eldest son, *Sultán* of Hindústán, and their father, the occupying Lord of Bengal, which forms the subject of *Mír Khusrú Dehlavi's* celebrated poem the "*Kirán-us-S'adain*;"² and, also, the inscription reproduced *in extenso* below, which conclusively identifies the same prince in the paternal relation, and simultaneously attests his eventual regal succession in Bengal.

INSCRIPTION B.

Inscription of KAI KÁÚS in Gangarámpúr, Dinájpúr, at Damdamah, the old Deokót,³ dated Muharram, 697 A.H. [Oct., 1297 A.D.]

بنی هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد السلطان السلاطين ركن الدنيا
والدين ظل الله في الارضين كيكأوس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان يمين

¹ Chronicles, p. 148.

² Professor Cowell's article in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1860, p. 234; and Elliot's *Historians*, iii., p. 530.

³ See Buchanan's Dinájpúr, p. 50; and *anté*, p. 9.

خليفه الله ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بفرمان خسرو
 زمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر ثانى الخ اعظم همايون ظفر خان
 بهرام ايتگين سلطانى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ومد الله عمره بتوليت
 صلاح جيوند ملتانى فى القرّة من المحرم شهر سنه سبع و تسعين
 و ستمايه J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 103.

DR. H. BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION.

"This mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, Rukn-ud-dunyā-waddīn, the shadow of God upon earth, Kai Kāūs Shāh, son of Mahmūd, son of the Sultān, the right hand of the Khalīfah of God, the helper of the commander of the faithful—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!—at the order of the Lord of the age, by Shihāb-ul-haqq-waddīn, a second Alexander, the Ulugh-i-'Azam Humāyūn Zafar Khān Bahrām Itgīn—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom, and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision (batauliyat) of Salāh Jīwand of Multān. On the 1st Muharram, 697 A.H. [19th Oct., 1297]."

I have reproduced in full the above inscription, alike in text, translation, and commentary,¹ as it corrects an avowedly imperfect reading which I had been favoured with by Col. Nassau Lees. Dr. Blochmann was so obliging as to forward me an impression of the original, that I might satisfy myself of the accuracy of the translation now given; but I have unfortunately mislaid the *facsimile* reproduction, and therefore abstain for the moment from any further comments.

¹ Dr. Blochmann continues:—"As mentioned above, this inscription is quoted by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 140, where a 'rough' translation by Colonel Nassau Lees is given. The 'translation' leaves out the name of the builder, and wrongly puts his titles in apposition to the words *Khusraws samān*. The absence of a facsimile has led Mr. Thomas to state that Kai Kāūs confessed allegiance to 'Alā-ud-dīn of Dihlī, who is the Sikandar-uṣṣānī *par excellences*; but the grammatical construction of the sentence, and the *idiom*, show that the words 'Sikandar-uṣṣānī, Ulugh-i-'Azam Humāyūn and Zafar Khān,' are merely titles of Bahrām Itgīn. He must have been a Malik of high rank, as the titles are high; but my Tribenī inscriptions (about to be published in this volume) give Maliks not only similar titles, but also the phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom,' and even *julūs* names, if I may say so. 'Shihāb-ul-Haqq-wad-dīn,' therefore, is merely the *julūs* name of Malik Zafar Khān, and shows, moreover, that the Sikandar-uṣṣānī cannot be 'Alā-ud-dīn, whose full *julūs* name with the *kunya* was 'Alā-ud-dīn *Abulmuzaḥfar* Muhammad Shāh." This inscription is further referred to by Mr. W. M. Bourke (1872, p. 143), who expresses a hope that his new "rubblings," now submitted to the Society, may resolve Dr. Blochmann's doubt regarding a portion of this Inscription, and supply the date in his No. 4 Inscription.

INSCRIPTION C.

Inscription of SHAMS-UD-DÍN FIRÚZ of Bengal, on Zafar Khán's Madrasah, at Tribeni,¹ dated A.H. 713.

الحمد لولي الحمد * بنيت هذه المدرسة المسماة دارالخيرات 'في
عهد سلطنة والي الميراث' صاحب التاج والختام 'ظل الله في العالم'
المكرم الاكرام الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم 'شمس الدنيا و الدين'
المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان 'ابو المظفر فيروز
شاه السلطان خلد الله سلطانه' J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 287.

The text goes on to say that the inscription was engraved under the direction of Khán Muhammad Zafar Khán, on the 1st of Muharram, 713 A.H. Zafar Khán's *Mosque*, in the same locality, bears the earlier date of 698 A.H. (A.D. 1298).

¹ Tribeni or *Triveni* (as Mr. Money writes it, J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 393), N. of Húgli. Dr. Blochmann adds, "Tribeni is often called *Tripáni* ("three streams"), and by the Muhammadans *Tripáni Sháh-pur*, or *Firúzabád* (see also *Kin-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), ii., p. 6; J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II. (1866), p. 202, *Note* 1, and *Note* 1, p. 205). Dr. Blochmann, in adverting to Marsden's coin of *Táj-ud-dín Firúz Sháh* (No. DCCCLXXVIII., and Laidley, J.A.S.B., 1846, pl. v., fig. 17), has followed the old authorities in attributing the piece to a Bengal king of that name, and does not seem to be aware that the coin was minted in the Dakhan in 807 A.H., during the reign of the *Bahmáni* Firúz Sháh (A.H. 800 to 825). See my *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 345. On the other part, I have to thank Dr. Blochmann for a rectification, to which he seems to attach an undue importance.—J.A.S.B., July, 1872, p. 119. In my recent work just quoted, I had occasion to notice, *en passant*, the contemporary coins of the local dynasties more or less connected with the central Muhammadan Imperialism. Among other hitherto unpublished specimens, I described a coin of "Ahmad Sháh bin Ahmad Sháh, Alwáli, *Al Bahmani*," (p. 343), dated 856 A.H., and I submitted, without any reserve, in illustration of the piece itself, a facsimile of the original, designed and executed by an independent artist—which may be seen to be defective in both the subordinate points, in which Dr. Blochmann has the advantage of me in a better preserved and more fully legible coin lately acquired by Colonel Hyde. I take no blame to myself for reading the *absolutely detached* روق of the one specimen for the improved الروف of the other, nor am I surprised at the appearance of the concluding word المهيمن when it is to be found in the very next page of my work, where I had full authority for its citation.

INSCRIPTIONS D. E. F.

Further Inscriptions of Shams-ud-din Firúz.

Dr. Blochmann contributes the following remarks towards the elucidation of some unpublished records of this king :

"The inscriptions at Tribení near Húglí mention the same king (Shams-ud-dín Firúz) as having reigned in 1313 A.D. Two of Mr. Broadley's inscriptions—and this will show the value of his discoveries—prove—

1. That Firúz already reigned in 1309 over (Western) Bengal, or Lakhnautí.

2. That South Bihár under him belonged to Bengal, whilst other inscriptions show that Bihár in 1352 again belonged to Dehlí.

3. That Shams-ud-dín had a son of the name of Hálim Khán, who in 1309 and 1315—and hence most likely during the intervening years—was governor of Bihár."¹

As respects the later numismatic accessions to this henceforth *second* period of the Muslim annals of Bengal, they may be said to be confined to minor varieties and repetitions of known types, whose dates are, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. A single coin of mark claims attention, in the shape of a gold piece of Bahádur Sháh, part of his tribute or recognition money (similar to the silver piece No. 9, O.S.) coined in his own name, but with the full acknowledgment of the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The piece itself is the property of Mr. Delmerick—to whom we owe the first notice of the *unique* coin of the Bactrian king *Plato*, which has lately been secured for the British Museum;²—a medal, I may remark, *en passant*, that contributes the most striking testimony to the value of numismatic inquiries perhaps ever adduced, in confirming by the single date, hitherto known in the entire Bactrian series, which appears on its surface, the

¹ "The two inscriptions of Hálim Khán contain the dates 1309 and 1315; the former inscription seems to have belonged to a Saraf, the latter to a Mosque." J.A.S.B., Proceedings, 1871, p. 246.

² J.A.S.B., February, 1872, p. 34.

exact epoch of Eukratides' death in B.C. 165, which had already been speculatively fixed from less definite data.¹ The specific determination of this era is of the highest importance as giving us a standpoint, so to say critical, towards the close of a dynasty, whose members left so few positive traces behind them, and whose annals were little likely to have been preserved either by the hostile races who succeeded them, or their indifferent cousins who remained in the ancestral homes of the West.

I have little left to say, in conclusion, beyond momentarily adverting to one of the confessed difficulties of the day, the identification of the easily-shifted sites of Eastern cities, whose removal, apart from the caprice of the rulers, was, in this locality, at all times liable to be suggested, if not enforced, by Nature herself, in the ever-changing channels of the waters of the Delta of the Ganges.²

With regard to the emplacement of *Pundua* or "Fírúzpúr," a possible claimant has appeared in the shape of the "Pundooah" (23° 3'—88° 18') near Húghlí, which is in a measure connected with the area of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal's extant memorials at Tribeni, one of the subordinate villages of which still retains the alternative name of "Fírúzábád."³

But I am satisfied that the Pandua, near Maldah,⁴ is the

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, ii., p. 175. J.R.A.S. (o.s.) XX., p. 119. Gen. Cunningham *Num. Chron.* ix. (1869), p. 230. I am now, apart from other reasons, the less inclined to accept the author's "83 of the Bactrian era"—which he derives from a quasi-monogram on the coins of Heliocles.

² This is a description of the local peculiarities published in 1820. "In tracing the sea coast of this Delta, there are eight openings found, each of which appears to be a principal mouth of the Ganges. As a strong presumptive proof of the wanderings of that river, from one side of the Delta to the other, it may be observed, that there is no appearance of virgin earth between the Tiperah hills on the east and the district of Burdwan on the west; nor below Dacca and Bauleah on the north. In all the sections of the numerous creeks and rivers of the Delta, nothing appears but sand and black mould in regular strata, until the clay is reached, which forms the lower part of their beds; nor is there any substance so coarse as gravel either in the Delta, or nearer the sea than 400 miles (by the course of the Ganges) at Ondanulla, where a rocky point, part of the base of the neighbouring hills, projects into the river."—Hamilton's *Hindustan*, i., p. 123.

³ J.A.S. Bengal, 1870, p. 282, and note, p. 37, *anté*.

⁴ Rennell and Stewart were alike convinced that the northern city of that name was the scene of Fírúz's contest with Ilías Sháh. Rennell remarks: "Pundua, or Purruah, mentioned as a royal residence in Bengal, in the year 1353 (Dow, i. 340), [4to. edit. i., 326; Briggs, i., 449], is about seven miles to the north of Mauldah, and ten from the nearest part of Gour. Many of its ruins yet remain,

real place of mintage of the coins bearing the royal designation of this prince, which later in point of time supersedes the discarded record of "*Lakhnauti*" on the local currency. While the group of "Seven Villages" or Townships in Lower Bengal is defined solely by the appropriate mint term of "*Satgaon*," whose leading centre perhaps oscillated according to the progressive changes of the convenient wharves and landing-places of that emporium. If I could be equally certain of the very reasonable identification of "*Jugdula*" (25° 10'–87° 58') of our recent surveys,¹ with the "*Akdalah*" of the Muhammadan historians,² the case would be complete and final in favour of the northern metropolis.

Colonel Haughton's recent investigations enable him to say that *Ghiāspūr* is also "near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah."³ And Dr. Blochmann very safely affirms that *Muazzamābād* is in Sonargaon.⁴ A small incidental note will be found at p. 9 *antè*, on Deokót and the Muslim Lakhnauti, but the subject under its geographical aspect, promises to repay more ample investigation.

particularly the Addeenah mosque, and the pavement of a very long street, which lies in the line of the road leading from Mauldah to Dinagepour."—Rennell, Map, etc., p. 56.

Stewart's understanding of the localities may be traced in the following passage: "Ilyas took post himself in the fort of Akdala; leaving his son to defend the city of Pundua (near Mauldah), which for some time past he had made his capital. The Emperor advanced to a place now called Firozpurābād, and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua."—Hist. Bengal, p. 84. See also Hamilton's Hindustan, i., 230.

¹ Surveyor General of India's latest Maps.

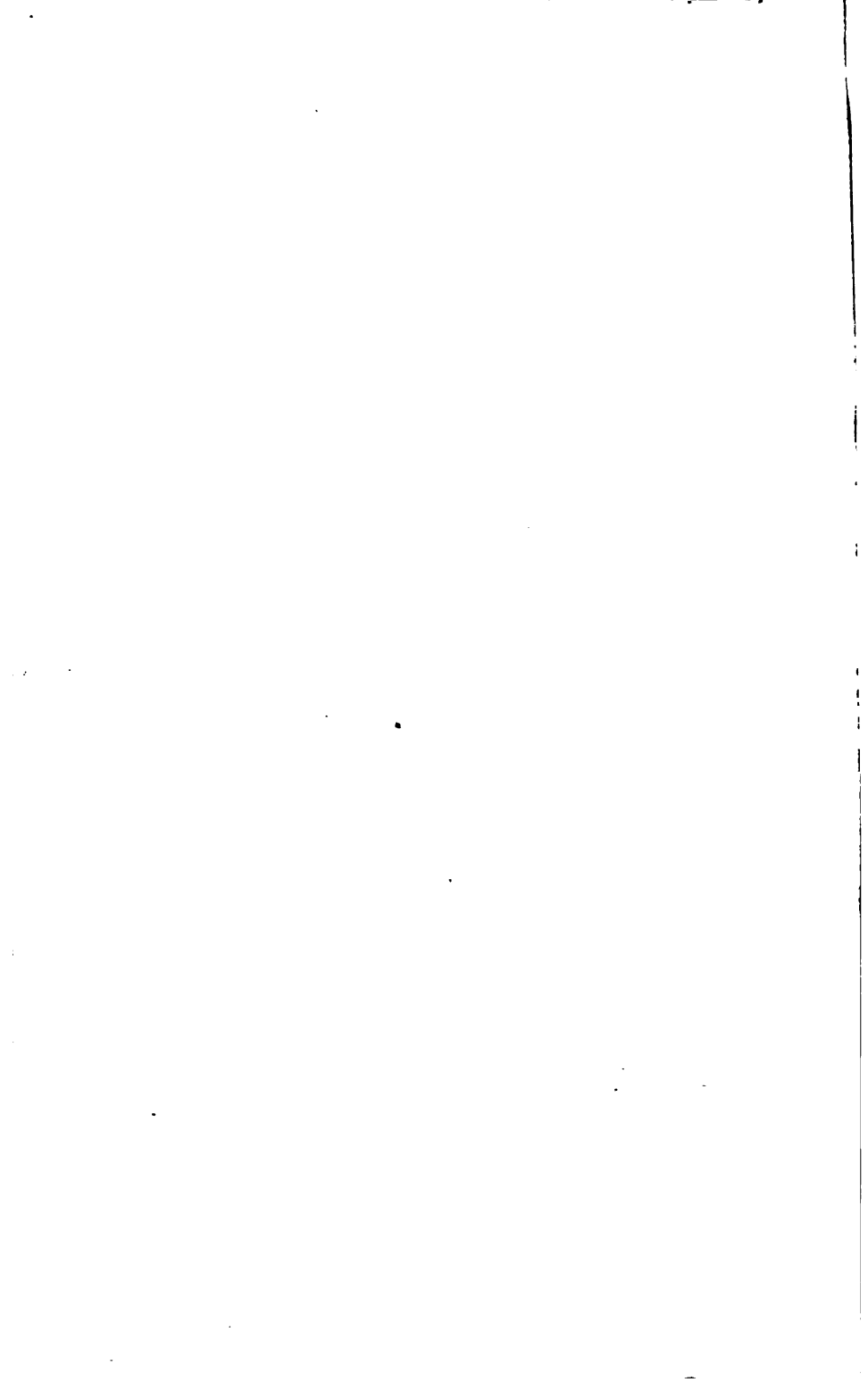
² These passages are given at large in my previous paper. J.R.A.S., II., p. 206. See also pp. 203–210, and Stewart's Bengal, pp. 84 *note*, 86 and 87; as well as Elliot's Historians, iii., pp. 294–308.

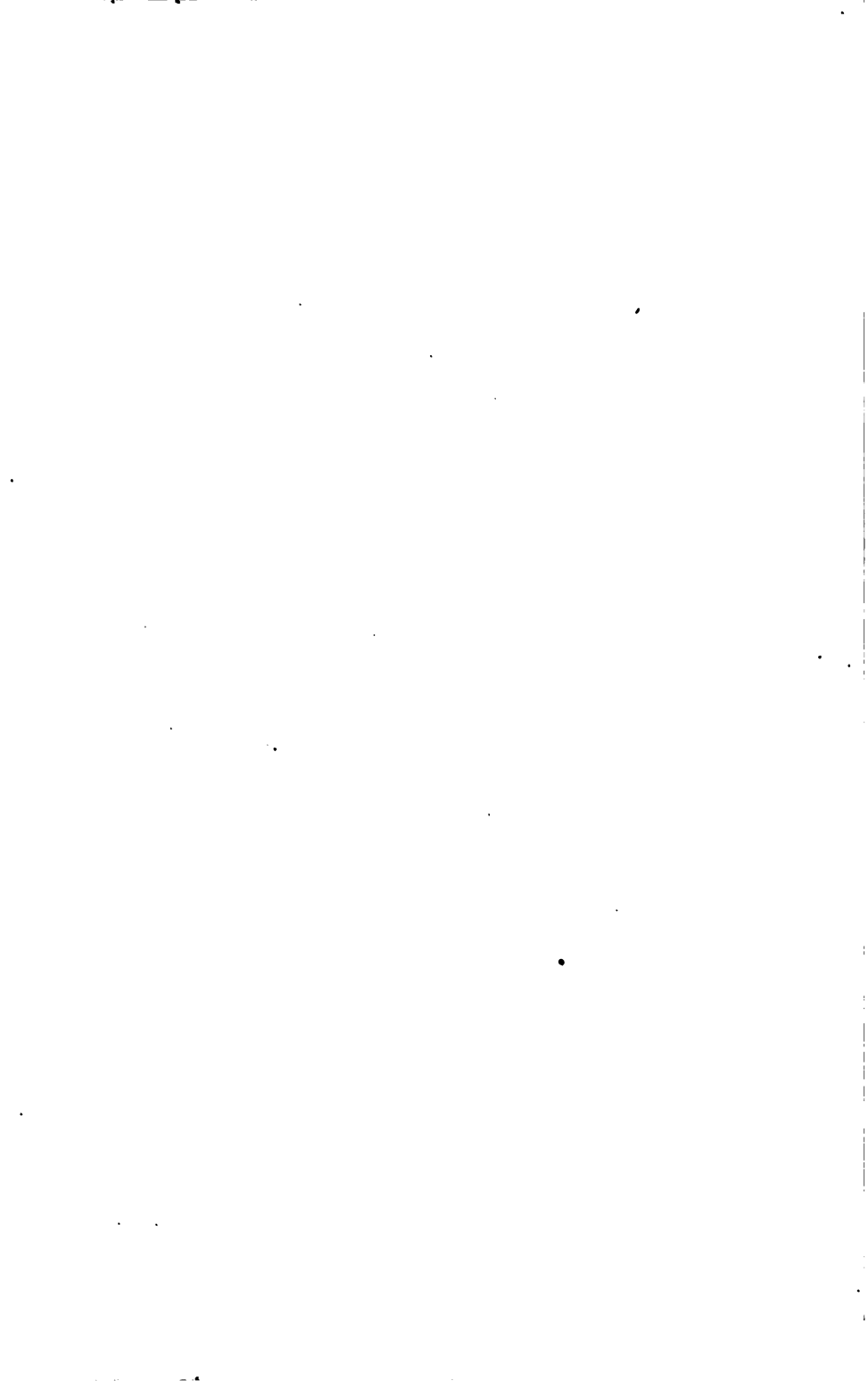
³ See Chronicles of Pathān Kings, 153. Aīn-i-Akbari, ii., p. 3, *suppt.*, and Grant's Report, p. 372.

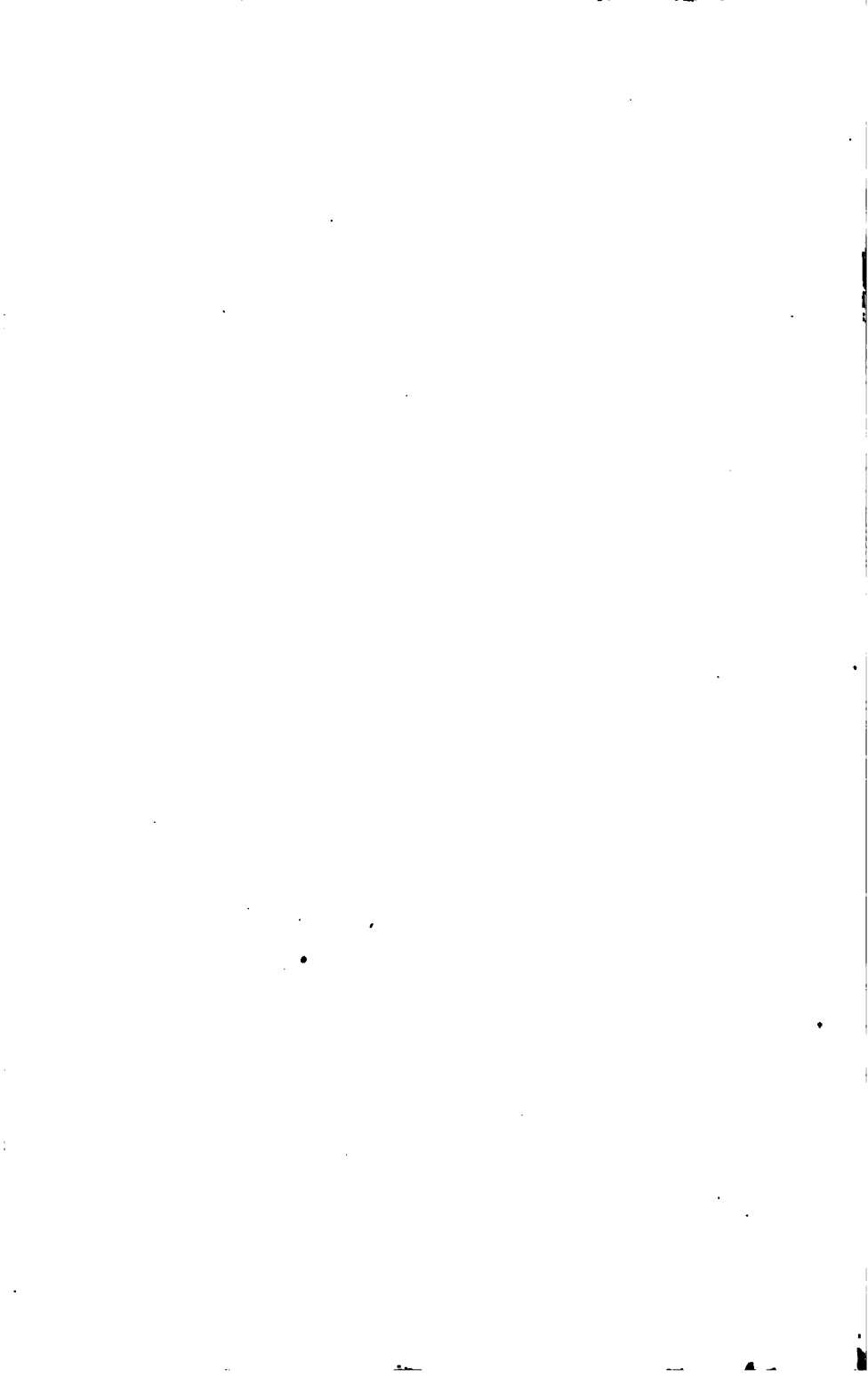
⁴ Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 121.

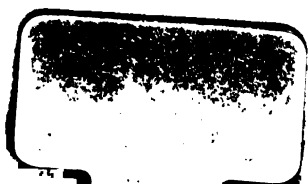












X

